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HISTORY

OF

INDIA.

BOOK VI.

KINGS OF DELHI, TO THE ACCESSION OF THE HOUSE OF TEIMUR, A. D. 1006 TO 1526.

CHAPTER I.

SLAVE KINGS.

Kutb u dín Eibak.

FROM the death of Shaháb u dín, India became an independent kingdom; and after the disturbance occasioned by the dissolution of his empire had subsided, it ceased to have any connection with the countries beyond the Indus.

Independence of India.

The life of Kutb u dín, the founder of this new monarchy, affords a specimen of the history of the Túrki slaves, who rose to sovereignty throughout Asia, and who for a long time furnished a succession of rulers to India.

Progress of a Túrki slave.

He was brought to Níshapúr in his infancy, and

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purchased by a wealthy person, who had him instructed in Persian and Arabic. On his death, Kutb was sold to a merchant, who presented him to Shaháb u dín. He soon acquired his master's favour, and was in command of a body of horse, when, in some border warfare with the Kharizmians, he was taken prisoner on an occasion in which his gallantry had been conspicuous. Being afterwards recaptured, he was received with an increase of favour; and by his subsequent good conduct stood so high in his sovereign's estimation, that, after the defeat of the rája of Ajmír, he was left in charge of all the new conquests.

His master's subsequent successes were greatly promoted, as has been shown, by Kutb u dín's ability in his new station; and in process of time the conduct of affairs in Hindostan was almost entirely confided to his discretion. A natural manliness of character inherent in the Túrks gave to newly raised officers of that nation an estimation among the other great men which seldom falls to the lot of the creatures of princes; and Kutb u dín, instead of being an object of jealousy, seems to have been generally beloved for the frankness and generosity of his disposition.

Besides the friendships formed with the great, he strengthened himself by family connections with persons circumstanced like himself. He married the daughter of Eldóz; he gave his sister in marriage to Násir u dín Kubácha; and he afterwards bestowed his daughter on Altamsh, another rising slave, who afterwards succeeded to his throne.

CHAP. I.

Násir u dín from the first acknowledged his superiority, and held Sind of him, under the supremacy of Mahmúd of Ghór; but Eldóz, with whom ambition had more force than family ties, affected to treat India as if it were still a dependency of Ghazni, set out with an army to enforce his claim, and almost immediately gained possession of Láhór. He was soon after driven out by Kutb u dín, who followed up his success by the capture of Ghazni. A. D. 1205, A. H. 603. After being some time in possession, he was expelled in his turn by Eldóz, and spent the rest of his life in the government of his own dominions, where he left a permanent reputation as a just and virtuous ruler. He had only been four years on A. D. 1210, A. H. 607. the throne, but his administration had been known for the twenty years that he officiated as the representative of Shaháb u dín.

A'rám.

A'rám, his son, succeeded him. He showed no capacity, and was dethroned within a twelvemonth by his brother-in-law, Altamsh.

Shams u dín Altamsh.

It is related of Altamsh, probably after his elevation, that he was of a noble family, but was sold, like Joseph, by his envious brothers. Sultán Shaháb u dín, unwilling to pay the price demanded for him, allowed Kutb u dín as a favour to purchase him for 50,000 pieces of silver. He passed through different stations, and was governor of Behár at the A. D. 1211, A. H. 707.

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time of his revolt. He was invited to the throne by a party; but a numerous body of Túrki chiefs were opposed to him, and he did not gain possession without a battle.

Eldóz, in his assumed superiority, gave him investiture unasked; but being soon after driven out of Ghazni by the king of Khárizm, he made an attempt to establish himself in India. He penetrated to Tanésar, and had even made a party in Altamsh's court, when he was defeated, was taken prisoner, and ended his days in confinement.

A. D. 1215, A. H. 612.

Altamsh next marched against his wife's uncle, Násir u dín Kubácha, who had asserted his independence in Sind; but, although he displayed great activity and personal gallantry, he did not succeed in establishing his sovereignty.*

A. D. 1217, A. H. 614.

At this time it seemed far from improbable that the Khárizmians would pursue their conquests into India, and Násir u dín had already been engaged with bodies of their troops which had approached the Indus.

Conquests of the Moguls under Chengíz Khán.

But all these alarms were suspended by an event which changed the whole face of Asia. Chengíz Khán, originally a petty chief among the Moguls, having subdued the three nations of Tartary, and swelled his bands with their united hordes, burst on the Mahometan kingdoms with an army that never was equalled in numbers either before or since.

* Ferishta, in his History of Sind, vol. iv. p. 414., makes only one expedition; in his General History, vol. i. p. 208., he makes two; but in the second there is a confusion regarding the Khiljis which throws the whole into doubt.

This irruption of the Moguls was the greatest calamity that has fallen on mankind since the deluge. They had no religion to teach, and no seeds of improvement to sow, nor did they offer an alternative of conversion or tribute; their only object was to slaughter and destroy; and the only trace they left was in the devastation of every country which they visited. The storm first fell on the Sultan of Khárizm, who had drawn it on himself by the murder of Chengíz's ambassadors. His armies were defeated, his cities demolished, his country laid waste, and a great part of his subjects either massacred or reduced to slavery. He himself died of a broken heart, in an inaccessible retreat on an island in the Caspian, and his son and successor, Jelál u dín, was driven into the eastern extremity of his dominions.

This prince defended his country gallantly to the last. He gained a victory near Candahár, and another still further to the east; but these successes did not even retard his ruin. His last battle was on the Indus, where, after displaying the most obstinate valour, and witnessing the total destruction of his army, he swam the river with seven followers amidst a shower of arrows from his enemies, whom he left in admiration of his intrepidity.* A. D. 1221 A. H. 618.

King of Khárizm pursued into India

In the course of the night and next day he was joined by 120 of his soldiers; and, before many days were passed, he had assembled 4000 horse.

* De Guignes, vol. iii. pp. 58, 59. D'Herbelot. Ferishta, vol. iv. p. 415.

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The Moguls threatening to cross the Indus, he fled towards Delhi, and applied to Altamsh for assistance, or at least for an asylum. Altamsh sent a courteous answer, but was too prudent to draw on himself the resentment of the Moguls; and Jelál u dín, left to his own resources, formed an alliance with the Gakkars, drew together an army by means of plunder, and at length attacked Násir u dín Kubácha, and forced him to take refuge in Multán. After this he kept no measures with any one: he ravaged the country on the Indus; invaded and conquered Sind; and would, perhaps, have maintained himself in the possession of it, if some hopes in Persia had not induced him to pass into Kirmán.

Returns to Persia. A. D. 1223, A. H. 620.

Finding the Mogul armies withdrawn from Persia, he again established his power in that country, opposed them with vigour in a new invasion, and was killed at last in Mesopotamia, ten years after his passage of the Indus.*

During his abode in Sind, Ferishta relates that a Mogul army† came in pursuit of him, laid siege to Multán, and, being repelled by Násir u dín, continued their march to Sind, which Jelál u dín had quitted. They conducted themselves with their usual barbarity throughout; and finding provisions scarce in their camp before they departed, they put to death 10,000 Indian prisoners, when

* D'Herbelot, art. "Gelaleddin."

† Ferishta says, under Chaghatái Khán in person, but probably a detachment.

they would have been equally relieved by setting them free.

After he was delivered from this succession of enemies, Násir u dín was again invaded by Altamsh, who, this time, was more successful than before. Násir u dín was constrained to retreat to Bakkar; and on attempting, afterwards, to continue his course to Sind, he was drowned, with all his family, in a sudden squall on the Indus, and the whole of the territory subject to him submitted to the victor. A. D. 1225, A. H. 622.

The country to the south of Tatta seems to have maintained its independence from the time of Mohammed Cásim to that under discussion. It may, perhaps, have acknowledged the superiority of some of the intermediate dynasties during the interval, but the internal government was never out of the hands of the Súmera Rájpúts.

In the same year with this expedition to Sind, Altamsh marched against Bakhtiár Khilji, who looked on Behár and Bengal as his own conquest; and, though he professed obedience to Kutb u dín (to whose daughter he was married), openly disclaimed all dependence on his successor. Altamsh was successful in this undertaking; he deprived Bakhtiár of Behár (the government of which he conferred on his own son), and obliged him to hold Bengal under the crown of Delhi. Bakhtiár made a subsequent attempt to retrieve his losses, was defeated by the prince who governed Behár, and lost his life in the conflict.

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A. D. 1226, A. H. 623, to A. D. 1232, A. H. 630.

Altamsh was now occupied for upwards of six years in reducing the part of Hindostan which had remained independent. He began by taking Rintambór, which, though so much in the line of former conquests, had been protected by its mountainous situation. He next took Mándu, a town of great extent and natural strength in Málwa; Gwáliór, which had revolted, was next recovered; Bilsa was likewise taken; and the occupation of the ancient capital Ujén, with the destruction of its celebrated temple, completed the conquest of Málwa.

State of Hindostan.

All Hindostan, except some insulated portions, now acknowledged the government of Delhi; but the obedience of the different portions was in different degrees, from entire subjection to very imperfect dependence: and in this state, with various fluctuations, it remained till the end of the Mogul empire. In a succession of strong reigns, the subject country would greatly exceed the rest; and the princes who retained the internal government of their territories would be quite submissive and obedient in general politics: but two or three weak rulers would again throw all into confusion; new princes would start up, and the old ones would become unruly, till the next vigorous monarch had almost to begin the conquest anew.

Death of Altamsh. A. D. 1236, A. H. 633, Shaban 20.

After these victories Altamsh returned to Delhi, and died in April, 1236, as he was about to set out on a journey to Multán.

During the course of his reign he received in-

vestiture from the calif of Bagdad; the most authoritative recognition of a new government that could take place among Mussulmans.

His vizír was a man of great eminence, and had been long in one of the highest employments under the calif. The author of the "Jámá ul Hikáyát," a very popular collection of historical anecdotes in Persian, resided at his court.

The beautiful column called the Kutb, or Cútab Mínár, near Delhi, was completed in the reign of Altamsh. It is in the form of a minaret, with galleries; the shaft is fluted in a manner peculiar to itself, and ornamented with the richest effect. It is 242 feet high, although injured by an earthquake; and is still, I believe, the highest column in the world. Near it is an unfinished mosque, which for grandeur of design and elegance of execution is equal to any thing in India. It is ascribed in an inscription to Shaháb u dín Ghóri.

Rukn u dín.

At the death of Altamsh the contest with the Hindús was at an end; and the period which followed was occupied by a succession of plots, mutinies, and revolutions, equally destitute of present interest and permanent effects.

Rukn u dín, who succeeded his father, lavished his treasures on dancing-women, buffoons, and musicians, and left the government to his mother; and her tyranny and cruelty soon drove all ranks

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into rebellion. He was deposed after a reign of seven months, and his sister Rezia was raised to the throne in his place.

Sultána Rezia.

A. D. 1236, A. H. 634.

Her virtues,

"Rezia Bégum," says Ferishta, "was endowed with every princely virtue, and those who scrutinise her actions most severely will find in her no fault but that she was a woman."* If not distinguished for literature, she read the Koran correctly; and such was her talent for business, that Altamsh, when absent on his southern campaigns, left her in charge of his government in preference to his sons. Her conduct on the throne did not disappoint the expectations entertained of her. Of two separate factions which had concurred in dethroning her brother, one was opposed to the elevation of the Sultána. The vizír of the two last kings was at the head of the latter faction, and they were strong enough to appear before Delhi, and to defeat an army that was coming to its relief. But the queen's arts were more effectual than her arms. She succeeded so well in sowing dissensions among her enemies, that the whole confederacy dissolved, and left the individuals composing it at her mercy. Some were put to death, and others conciliated; and in a short time quiet was perfectly restored.

The internal administration of Rezia did not fall

* Briggs's Ferishta, vol. i. p. 217.

short of her policy. She appeared daily on her throne in the usual habit of a Sultan; gave audience to all comers, reformed the abuses which had crept in under the last government, revised the laws, decided suits of importance, and evinced all the qualities of a just and able sovereign. But her talents and virtues were insufficient to protect her from the effects of a single weakness. It was shown in the extraordinary marks of favour which she showered on her Master of the Horse; who, to make her partiality more degrading, was an Abyssinian slave. It does not appear that her fondness was criminal, since the greatest breach of decorum alleged against her is her allowing the Abyssinian to lift her on her horse. It was, however, imprudent in the highest degree; for, by raising her favourite to the office of Amír al O'mrá*, which gave him rank over all other courtiers, she at once disgusted her nobility, and furnished them with a plausible ground for exciting a clamour against her.

and weakness.

The first who openly rebelled was a Túrki chief called Altúnia. The queen immediately marched against his fort of Batinda; but her army mutinied, her favourite was killed in a tumult, and she herself, being made prisoner, was consigned to Altúnia, as the safest hands in which she could be placed; while her brother Behrám was raised to the vacant throne.

Rebellion.

* Literally "Commander of Commanders;" that is, General in Chief.

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Rezia, when force failed her, had again recourse to art; and she so far gained over Altúnia by the influence of love or of ambition, that he agreed to marry her, and to assert her rights against his former confederates. Aided by her new consort, the queen assembled an army, and advanced to Delhi; and it was not till after two bloody battles that she was made prisoner along with her husband, and both were put to death. Her reign lasted for three years and six months.

The Queen defeated and put to death.

Móizz u dín Behrám.

A. D. 1239, A. H. 637.

The new king endeavoured, by treachery and assassination, to rid himself of the nobles who, for their own purposes, had raised him to the throne. Before he had attained his end, his dominions were invaded by a body of Moguls, who penetrated to Láhór; and the assemblage of troops which followed led to new plots and seditions, which ended in his imprisonment and death, after he had reigned two years and two months.

Mogul irruption into the Panjáb.

Alá u dín Masáúd.

A. D. 1241, A. H. 639.

The reign of the next Sultan, a son of Rukn u dín, was a repetition of the same scenes, increased by the cruelty and licentiousness of the king, until, at the end of little more than two years, he was deposed and put to death.

Mogul irruptions.

The only remarkable events of his reign were

two irruptions of the Moguls; the first through Tibet into Bengal, the only one recorded from that quarter during the period of authentic history; and the other by a division of the army of Mánku Khán into the north-western part of the kingdom. A. D. 1244, A. H. 642.

The first of these invasions was defeated by the local officers; the second advanced no further than U'ch, on the joint rivers of the Panjáb to the south of Multán.

Násir u dín Mahmúd.

The twenty years' reign of Násir u dín was full of disturbances foreign and domestic, though none sufficient to overturn the government. A. D. 1246, A. H. 644.

He was the grandson of Altamsh, had been imprisoned immediately after that prince's death, and, though he had been for some time released and entrusted with a government, he retained the retired and studious habits of his youth. He reposed with entire confidence on the conduct of his vizír, whose name was Gheiás u dín Bulbun. This minister was a Túrki slave of Altamsh, and had been honoured by that monarch with the hand of one of his daughters, the aunt of the reigning king. Gheiás u dín Bulbun, vizír.

The great danger was now from the Moguls, who were in possession of all the countries west of the Indus. To guard against it, Bulbun formed the frontier provinces into one great government, at the head of which he placed his relation, Shír Khán, who, like himself, had been a slave. He

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then advised the king to proceed in person to the Panjáb. While in that province he severely chastised the Gakkars for their co-operation with the Moguls in their inroads, and compelled the jágírdárs *, who had long neglected their duty, to furnish their contingents with regularity.

A. D. 1247, A. H. 646, to A. D. 1250, A. H. 649.

He next turned his arms against different Hindú rájas, whom the weakness of the preceding reigns had tempted to revolt. In the first campaign he restored the royal authority in the country on both sides of the Jamna, from opposite Delhi to Cálinjer in Bundélcand; and in the three following years he settled the hilly country of Méwát, extending from near Delhi to the Chambal, the neighbouring territory of Rintambór, and the more remote one of Chitór. He afterwards took the strong fort of Narwar in Buldélcand, reduced Chándéri, and recovered all the revolted part of Málwa. In an interval of these expeditions he quelled a rebellion of the governor of U'ch; and, during the same period, Shír Khán, governor of the Panjáb, not only kept the Moguls out of his province, but invaded their territory and took possession of Ghazni.

Removal of Bulbun.

During most of these operations the king accompanied the army, and was the ostensible author of all its success. He nevertheless began to feel uneasy in the secondary place which he really occupied, and was induced by the insinuations of Imád u dín, an artful courtier, who had risen by

* Holders of land on military service. See Vol. I. p. 141.

the favour of the vizír, to remove that minister from his post, and to confer it on his secret accuser.

A. D. 1253, A. H. 651.

All the vizír's immediate adherents were soon after displaced; and the misgovernment which followed created extensive discontents, and afforded a pretext to ten governors of provinces, who probably were in league with Gheiás, to unite their troops, and address a remonstrance to the king, followed up by a demand, in respectful but firm terms, for the dismission of the new minister. No mention was made of the displaced vizír, but the object of the confederacy was obvious; and, as resistance would have been hopeless, the king recalled Gheiás u dín, who thenceforth was the real head of the government.

Discontents and intrigues.

Bulbun restored.

A. D. 1255, A. H. 653, to A. D. 1257, A. H. 655.

Imád u dín now raised a rebellion, in which he involved a relation of the king's; and although he was himself soon taken and put to death, yet a confederacy had been formed, including the Hindú rája of a place called Santúr and the king's governor of Sind. This rebellion was not entirely quelled till the end of the second year.

During the same time another Mogul attack on the Panjáb was repelled, and an expedition was afterwards undertaken against the revolted governor of Karrah Mánikpúr. A more difficult task was, to put down the inhabitants of Méwát. The vizír went against them, and it was not without great exertion and some danger that he vanquished them in battle, and ultimately reduced their country.

A. D. 1253, A. H. 656.

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Ten thousand of the insurgents are said to have been slain. The fierce and turbulent mountaineers of Méwát, though their frontier was within twenty-five miles of Delhi, were never entirely quieted until the establishment of the British government.

A. D. 1259, A. H. 657.

The last event of the reign was the arrival of an ambassador from Holáku Khán, grandson of Chengíz Khán, and himself a very powerful monarch. Every exertion was made to give him an honourable reception, and the splendour of the court is described as worthy of the best days of the monarchy. No other occurrence is recorded until the death of the king in February, 1266.

A. D. 1266, A. H. 664.

Násir u dín's private life was that of a dervise. He defrayed all his personal expenses by copying books: his fare was of the humblest description, and was cooked by the queen, to whom he allowed no female servant: he had only one wife, and no concubines. He was an eminent patron of Persian literature. The "Tabakáti Násiri," a general history of Persia and India, which still retains the highest celebrity, was written at his court, and takes its name from him.

An instance is told of his temper and courtesy. On showing one of the books he had transcribed to a nobleman of his court, the nobleman pointed out several mistakes, which the king immediately corrected. When the nobleman was gone, he was observed to erase the corrections and restore the old reading; and when asked his reason, he said he knew that the copy was right all the time, but

thought it better to make the corrections than to hurt the feelings of a well-intentioned adviser. CHAP. I.

*Gheiás u dín Bulbun.**

Bulbun being already in possession of all the powers of king, found no difficulty in assuming the title. A. D. 1266, A. H. 664.

He had been brought up from infancy at the court of Altamsh, and had taken an active part in all the intrigues and revolutions of the succeeding reigns. During the life of Altamsh, he had entered into a covenant for mutual support with forty of the king's other slaves, most of whom had attained to high stations. Having gained his own object, he desired to put an end to a system which would have endangered the succession of his family. He therefore, on various pretexts, made away with his surviving confederates (some of them his own near connections by marriage); and he henceforth made it an invariable rule to confer no office but on men of family. So ostentatiously did he exercise his new policy, that he affected a repugnance even to ordinary intercourse with people of low origin. He also made it a rule to exclude Hindús from all offices of trust. All his other acts partook of the same contracted spirit. He established laws for the preservation of game round his capital; and and having exceeded in wine in his early life, he

Bulbun puts down the influence of the slaves.

His character.

* Often called Balín by English writers.

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severely punished even the moderate use of it after he had reformed. In cases of rebellion, not satisfied with chastising the leaders, as had been usual, he extended capital punishment to the meanest of their vassals and retainers. Stories are told of his inflexible justice; but they consist in publicly whipping governors of provinces, and sometimes having them beaten to death in his presence.

This narrow-minded and selfish tyrant was raised, by circumstances, to the appearance of a liberal and enlightened monarch. The horrors of the Mogul invasion drove men of eminence from the countries to which it extended; and Bulbun's being the only Mahometan government that was not subverted, his court was filled with illustrious exiles of that religion. He used to boast that no less than fifteen sovereign princes had been dependent on his hospitality: he gave the names of their territories to the streets which they inhabited; and his capital long preserved those memorials of Rúm, Ghór, Khárizm, Bagdad, and other kingdoms.

The number of literary fugitives was naturally still more considerable; and as the king's eldest son, Prince Mohammed, was a young man of the greatest accomplishments, his palace was the resort of all the famous authors of that age. The chief, among many names well known in Persian literature, was the poet Amír Khúsru; on the possession of whose society the prince was congratulated by

Sádí*, who sent him a copy of his works, and regretted that his extreme old age prevented his accepting an invitation to Delhi. Bulbun himself had a turn for pomp and magnificence; so that his court was surrounded by an external splendour which blinded strangers to its real character.

A. D. 1266, A. H. 665.

He was disturbed by Hindú insurrections on the banks of the Jamna and Ganges, as well as in the mountains of Júd and Méwát. They were created by banditti for the sake of plunder: and here his exterminating system, backed by the erection of garrisons and other prudent precautions, seems to have operated effectually. In Méwát he is said to have put 100,000 persons to the sword; but he also cut down the forest over a great extent of country; and, from that time, it afforded support to the husbandman, instead of an asylum to the robber.

Revolt of Bengal.

His only serious rebellion was in Bengal. The governor, Tógral, having made a successful expedition against Jájnagar beyond the river Megna†, had refused to send any portion of the booty to Delhi, and soon after assumed the title of king. He totally defeated the first army sent against him, on which the king hanged the unsuccessful

A. D. 1279, A. H. 678.

* The celebrated moral poet; perhaps the best author Persia ever produced.

† Now Tipperah (*Hamilton's Hindostan*, vol. i. p. 178). Jájnagar has been taken for Jájpúr in Cattack, which never was the head place of a district. (See Mr. Stirling, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 274.

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general. Another army having been routed in spite of this severity, he at length moved in person to put down the rebellion. He acted on this occasion with the vigour and ability in which he never was deficient: he set out without waiting till the end of the periodical rains, marched straight to Súnárgong * (or Súndergong), then capital of the eastern district of Bengal, and struck such terror into the rebel, that he evacuated the open country, and withdrew, with a strong body of troops, into the forests. His retreat was discovered by one of the king's chiefs, who came unexpectedly on the camp, and, though at the head of only forty men, took the desperate resolution of entering it in open day. His small troop advanced without attracting observation till they reached Tógral's tent, when they rushed on with loud shouts. Tógral and those around him fled with precipitation, imagining the whole of the royal army was upon them: the panic spread to the troops; the whole dispersed in confusion; and Tógral himself was overtaken and slain as he was endeavouring to swim his horse over a river, on his flight towards Jájnagar.

Suppressed.

The king punished this rebellion with more than his usual severity, and was only prevented going on with his executions after he had returned to his capital, by the intercession of the cázis, muftis, and other learned and venerable men.

* It has since been swept away by the Ganges. (Buchanan, quoted by Hamilton, *Hindostan*, vol. i. p. 187.)

CHAP. I.

Not long after this he had the misfortune to lose his eldest son; a calamity to his people no less than to himself. The prince's death was worthy of the high character he had acquired. An army of Moguls belonging to Arghún Khán, then king of Persia, had invaded the Panjáb, and Prince Mohammed, who was governor of the province, hastened thither from the capital, where he had gone to meet his father. He defeated the invaders, and had recovered all the country they had overrun, when a fresh army arrived of chosen troops under a celebrated general named Teimúr Khán. A sanguinary conflict took place, and the prince gained a complete victory; but was killed by a body of the enemy, who had kept together during the pursuit. Amír Khúsru, the poet, his constant companion, was taken prisoner on the same occasion.

Mogul irruption.

Victory and death of the heir apparent.

This loss drew tears from the meanest soldier in the army, and touched the heart even of Bulbun. That monarch had now reached his eightieth year, and was fast sinking under the affliction that had fallen on him, when he summoned his second son, Bakarra Khán, to attend him on his death-bed. His son, finding him in less immediate danger than he expected, returned, without leave, to his province of Bengal; and Bulbun was so much offended that he sent for Kei Khusru, the son of Prince Mohammed, and immediately declared him his heir. Soon after this act the king died. The ministers, desirous of averting a civil war, proclaimed Kei

Death of Bulbun.

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Kobád, the son of Bakarra Khán, and restored Khusru to his father's government of Multán.

Both the losing claimants appeared to acquiesce in this arrangement, and Kei Kobád mounted the throne without opposition.

A. D. 1286, A. H. 685.

Kei Kobád.

A. D. 1286, A. H. 685.

The new king, who was in his eighteenth year at his accession, gave way, without restraint, to the pleasures natural to his age. He was encouraged in his vices by his vizír, Nizám u dín, who entertained hopes of securing the crown for himself. As Kei Khusru stood immediately in the way of his design, he took advantage of some imprudence on his part to render him an object of jealousy to the king; and being thus secure of impunity, he procured his assassination. By similar arts he brought about the death or disgrace of all the ministers who were not his own creatures; and, as his wife's ascendancy was as great in the harem as his was in the court, he held the king entirely cut off from all knowledge but what he thought proper to impart.

Intrigues and power of the vizír.

Many Mogul adventurers had, at this time, taken service at Delhi: it was an object to Nizám u dín to alienate these useful auxiliaries from the king; and he worked on that prince's fears by pretending a correspondence between them and their hostile countrymen, until he induced him to invite their chiefs to a banquet, and put them treacherously to death.

Massacre of Mogul mercenaries.

CHAP. I.

King's interview with his father.

Before his schemes were matured, he was interrupted by the approach of the king's father, Bakarra Khán, who, hearing of the state of affairs, marched with an army to look after the interests of his family. The vizír easily prevailed on the king to move out to oppose him; but, when the armies drew near, Bakarra Khán appealed so strongly to his son's affections that the minister could no longer prevent an interview. He endeavoured to frustrate the effects of it by imposing many humiliating ceremonies on Bakarra Khán, to all which that prince submitted; until, after repeated obeisances, he found the king remaining unmoved on his throne; when, shocked by this unnatural behaviour, he burst into tears. This sight overpowered all the king's resolutions: he leaped from his throne, and ran to throw himself at his father's feet; and, the father hastening to prevent him, he fell on his neck, and they remained for some minutes weeping in each other's arms, while the whole court was almost as much affected as themselves. When the first transport was over, Kei Kobad seated his father on the throne, and showed him every mark of love and reverence. All thoughts of war were now at an end; but, after repeated interviews, Bakarra Khán found that the vizír's vigilance, and his power over the enfeebled mind of the king, rendered it impossible to subvert his authority by peaceful means; and, being unwilling, or unable, to resort to force, he returned to Bengal, and left his son to his fate.

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Kei Kobád plunged anew into all sorts of debauchery; and to such excess, that, at that early age, he entirely broke his constitution and brought on an attack of palsy. Being now driven on reflection, he perceived all the dangers of his situation; and, unable to rid himself of his minister by honourable means, he had recourse to the lessons with which he had been made familiar, and succeeded, before long, in taking him off by poison.

Murder of the vizír.

The removal of this predominating influence served only to let loose a number of other enemies, all eager to seize on the power which the king was unable himself to retain.

The ascendancy of the slaves about the court had been destroyed by the policy of Bulbun, and the contest was now between the principal military leaders; and, as the native Indians were not yet of sufficient importance to form a party, the only competitors were the Tartar chiefs and those of the old kingdom of Ghazni or Ghór. The Khiljis seem, from the ability of their chief, or some advantage of their own, to have been at the head of the latter class: they prevailed over the Tartars, and Jelál u dín Khilji was raised to the throne, after the way had been opened for him by the assassination of Kei Kobád.*

The king dethroned and put to death. A. D. 1288, A. H. 687.

* Ferishta calls the competitors of the Khiljis, *Moguls*; but it is impossible to believe in the ascendancy of that tribe, any more than in the disappearance of the Túrks, at so early a period. The pretender set up by the Tartars was, moreover, the son of Kei Kobád, a natural object of choice to them for

his Túrki descent, but of aversion to the Moguls for his father's massacre of their chiefs.

The succession of kings of Delhi which commenced with Kutb u dín, is by some considered as a continuation of the line of Ghór; but most oriental writers include those princes along with E'ldóz, and one or two others, in a dynasty to which they give the name of "the slaves of the Sultans of Ghór."

HOUSE OF KHILJI.

CHAP. II.

JELÁL U DÍN KHILJI.*

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A. D. 1288, A. H. 687.

JELÁL U DÍN was seventy years of age when he came to the government.

He affected extreme regret at having his high office forced on him, and professed the utmost respect and attachment for the memory of Gheiás u dín. He over-acted humility so far as to refuse to enter the royal palace on horseback, and to stand at his usual station in the court instead of occupying the throne. But he kept the infant son of the late king in custody, and put him to death as soon as he felt strong enough for such a measure.

Mild government of Jelál u dín.

If this last atrocity be imputed to him on false grounds, which is not improbable, we should be inclined to acquit him of hypocrisy in all his former professions; for, during the rest of his reign, his lenity to his enemies, both open and secret, was carried even to a fault; and he continued to

* For the origin of the Khiljis, see Vol. I. p. 528. Though Túrks by descent, they had been so long settled among the Afgháns that they had almost become identified with that people: but they probably mixed more with other nations, or at least with their Túrki brethren, and would be more civilised than the generality of Afghán mountaineers.

retain the simplicity of his manners, and to associate with his old friends on the same footing of familiarity that he did when a private man. He had frequent parties of those friends, together with men eminent for wit or literature; and, on those occasions, he carried conviviality beyond the limits of the Mahometan law, though never beyond those of sobriety.

He had soon occasion to display his clemency. Malik Jáju, a nephew of Gheiás u dín, rebelled against him in his government of Karrah, and was joined by all the adherents of the house of Bulbun. They were soon strong enough to march to Delhi, but were defeated by the king's second son, Arkalli Khán; and all the chiefs, including Malik Jáju, were made prisoners.

The king immediately released them all, and sent Malik Jáju to Multán, where he allowed him a liberal establishment for the rest of his days. He soon after showed equal magnanimity towards a body of chiefs of his own tribe, who were detected in a plot against his life. Unfortunately he did not confine his lenity to personal injuries, but allowed so general an impunity to offenders, that the whole frame of the government became relaxed; governors withheld their tribute, neglected their duty, and abused their power; the roads and highways were infested by robbers, and bands of plunderers and insurgents interrupted the communication between different parts of the kingdom.

He marched, himself, into Málwa, to quell an A. D. 1292, A. H. 691.

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insurrection of a more general character. He was successful in the main; yet, from his aversion to shed blood, combined with the feebleness of age, he hesitated to attack the principal fortresses of the rebels, and left his suppression of the revolt incomplete. He showed more vigour soon after, on an invasion of the Panjáb by a numerous host of Moguls, whom he engaged in person, and totally defeated.

With characteristic moderation, he granted peace to the vanquished enemy, and allowed the wreck of their army to retire unmolested. Three thousand Moguls on this occasion joined his standard, and soon after embraced the Mahometan religion. A place in the suburbs of Delhi, still called Móghúlpúra, was assigned for their residence.

A. D. 1293, A. H. 692.

In the next year he made another march to Málwa, which was as inconclusive as the first. His own weakness, however, began, at this time, to be made up for by the energy of his nephew, Alá u dín, governor of Karrah, a man of vigour and ability, quite exempt from all the scruples which sometimes obstructed his uncle's success. Having obtained permission to act against the insurgents in Bundélcand and the east of Málwa, he not only restrained their turbulence, but took several forts which had before been left to dependent princes, and gained such a booty as enabled him to make considerable additions to his army. The king received the intelligence of his success with great satisfaction; and, although his favourite wife en-

Vigour of Alá u dín, the king's nephew.

deavoured to put him on his guard against the ambition of Alá u dín, he gave him the government of Oud, in addition to that which he before possessed, and allowed him to assemble an army, and to entertain many of the old adherents of the Bulbun family.

Alá u dín's invasion of the Deckan. A. D. 1294, A. H. 693.

Alá u dín's first employment of his force justified his uncle's confidence, and opened a new æra in the history of India. He resolved to attempt the hitherto untried adventure of an invasion of the Deckan; and, setting out with 8000 chosen horse from Karrah, made his way through the extensive forests that still fill the space between that place and Berár; threw the princes, whose country he was approaching, off their guard, by pretending to have left his uncle in disgust; and, having thus reached to E'lichpúr, he turned to the west, and proceeded, by rapid marches, to Deógíri, the main object of his expedition. Deógíri (now Doulatabad) was the capital of Rámdeó, a prince of so great power that the Mahometans look on him as king of the Deckan, and who, in fact, was rája of Maharashtra, or the country of the Marattas.

It was probably owing to the natural indolence of the Rájpúts, and their deeming it dishonourable to attack each other without warning, that the Mussulman invaders so often found them unprepared for defence. Their example seems to have infected the other Hindú chiefs; for, on this occasion, the rája was in all the security of profound peace. He had no troops about him; and his wife

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and son had gone out of the city to a neighbouring temple. In the consternation which ensued, Rámdeó preserved presence of mind sufficient to assemble a body of 3000 or 4000 citizens and domestics. With these he made head against the enemy, and afforded some little time for defensive arrangements. He was obliged to give way before long, and retired into the strong hill fort close to the city, into which some provisions had hastily been thrown. The town was taken without resistance, and was given up to pillage. The merchants were tortured to make them disclose the treasures (the first instance mentioned in Mussulman history of this species of barbarity); and forty elephants, with some thousand horses of the rája's, fell into the hands of the enemy. Meanwhile, the fort was invested; and Alá u dín, having given out that his army was only the advanced guard of the king's, the arrival of which would speedily render all opposition unavailing, the rája became impatient to come to terms, and had actually concluded a treaty very favourable to the invaders, when his son, who had escaped being shut up with his father, returned at the head of an army suddenly assembled, but far exceeding that of the Mussulmans in numbers. Trusting to this superiority, he disregarded the remonstrances of his father, and attacked Alá u dín. The result would have gone hard with the invader, if a small body of troops which he had left to observe the garrison had not opportunely fallen on the enemy,

and, being taken for the expected main army under the king, created a confusion which could not be retrieved. After this victory, Alá u dín raised his demands; and, as the rája expected reinforcements from his allies, the affair might have been prolonged more than was safe for Alá u dín, had not the garrison unexpectedly discovered that, in the hurry of victualling the fort, sacks of salt had been taken by mistake instead of sacks of grain, and consequently that their provisions were already nearly exhausted. This discovery made the rája more compliant: he agreed to an immense payment in money and jewels, besides the cession of Elichpúr and its dependencies; after which Alá u dín drew off through Cándésh into Málwa.

Submission of Deógíri.

Alá u din's march to Deógíri was about 700 miles, great part of it through the mountains and forests of the Vindya range, which so completely separates Hindostan from the Deckan. The narrow and intricate paths, the want of supplies, and the danger of exposure to the arrows of the mountaineers, made the passage difficult for a small force, and impossible for a large one; while the entry into so great and populous a country as the Deckan, with no more than 8000 men, seemed an act of rashness rather than courage.

To have surmounted these dangers, and obviated, by exploring a new route, the increased difficulty of returning by the same, give a high impression of the military talents of Alá u dín. The pretext he used on his advance, that he was on his way

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to enter the service of the Hindú rája of Rájamandri, shows how much religious distinctions were weakened since the settlement of the Mahometans in India.

Return to Hindostan.

This expedition had been undertaken without leave; and, as all communication had been cut off while it continued, Jelál u dín remained in suspense and anxiety, both as to the fate and the designs of his nephew; and when he heard that he was on his return, loaded with treasures and covered with glory, he felt nothing but delight at the intelligence. The more sagacious of his advisers took a different view of the matter; and, seeing fresh proofs of the daring spirit of Alá u dín, as well as of the resources at his disposal, they advised the king to adopt such measures of precaution as, without showing distrust, should prevent his assembling another army when the present should have dispersed to lay up their spoils. The generous temper of the king led him to disregard all these admonitions, and laid him open to the insidious designs of Alá u dín, who now affected alarm from the cabals of his enemies, and fear of the king's displeasure for his unauthorised expedition. He sent his brother, Alaf Khán, as crafty an intriguer as himself, and remarkable for his insinuating address, to deprecate his uncle's resentment, and induce him to meet Alá u dín in such a manner as, under pretence of affording security to his nephew, should, in fact, leave none to himself. By degrees, he was persuaded to move with his army towards

Karrah; then to advance with a small escort, and at last to cross the Ganges almost alone. Alá u dín fell at his feet, and the affectionate old man was patting him on the cheek, and reproaching him with having distrusted an uncle who had brought him up from his infancy and loved him better than his own sons, when Alá u dín made a signal to assassins posted for the purpose, who rushed forward and stabbed the king to the heart. His head was stuck on a spear and carried aloft through the camp and city. Ferishta shows a natural pleasure in relating the calamities which pursued the subordinate actors in this horrid tragedy to their graves: but that retribution affords little satisfaction while we continue to witness the uninterrupted prosperity of the parricide in whom the whole of this detestable act of perfidy had its rise.

Assassination of Jelál u dín.

A. D. 1295, July 19. A. H. 695, Ramzan 17.

As Jelál u dín had reigned upwards of seven years, he must have been more than seventy-seven when he was killed.

A singular incident occurred in this reign, which shows the credulity of the Asiatics even at a period not remarkable for superstition. A dervise named Sidi Moula, a native of Persia, who had travelled through many countries, and was acquainted with most men of eminence in his day, arrived at Delhi, and instituted a school and an almshouse, where travellers, religious mendicants, and persons of all descriptions were entertained at his expense. He lived on rice alone, and had neither wife nor slaves

Singular instance of credulity and injustice.

of either sex; yet his expenses were such as would have exceeded the means of the wealthiest nobleman. Besides his profuse dispensation of charity, he entertained the great men with splendour at his house, and did not hesitate to bestow sums of two or three thousand pieces of gold to relieve noble families in distress. Although he held some peculiar opinions, and among others never attended public worship, yet his piety remained unquestioned; and even among the suspicions to which his conduct gave birth, the cry of heresy was never raised against him. The first surmise regarding him was that he possessed the philosopher's stone; the next took a more dangerous form, and represented him as aiming at the crown; and this at last appeared in the definite shape of an accusation that he had prepared assassins to make away with the king, and had 10,000 of his votaries ready to profit by the confusion. The mysterious nature of the danger seems to have frightened the king out of his natural moderation. On the accusation of an alleged accomplice he apprehended Sidi Moula, and his most considerable associate; and, being unable to convict them on the evidence of one suspected witness, he ordered a large fire to be made on a plain before the town, to allow them to prove their innocence by an ordeal which they probably had appealed to. When the time came, the ministers raised their voices against the proceeding as equally opposed to Mahometan law and to natural reason; and the king, giving way to

their remonstrances, ordered the accused persons to be kept in confinement. As they were leading them away to prison, some Calenders (a sort of religious mendicants), countenanced, if not instigated, by the king, fell on Sidi Moula, and put him to death in the royal presence. With his last breath he protested his innocence, and denounced the curse that impended over his oppressor. Jelál u dín was greatly troubled at the moment: a dark whirlwind which happened just then to arise increased the general horror; and the death of the king's eldest son, which took place soon after, together with a failure of the rains and a famine which followed, as well as the awful termination of the monarch's own life, and the exclusion of his immediate family from the throne, were ascribed to the Divine vengeance for this act of impiety and injustice.

Alá u dín.

When the accounts of the late king's death reached Delhi, his widow made a feeble attempt to set up her own son, an infant, in his place: on the approach of Alá u dín she fled to Multán, where the only other surviving son of Jelál u dín was governor; but the whole family were inveigled from this asylum by means of a fallacious promise, when the two princes were put to death and the queen imprisoned.

A. D. 1295, A. H. 695.

Alá u dín studiously endeavoured to recover the goodwill of his people, by his just exercise of the

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power he had obtained by so many atrocities. He was liberal in bestowing wealth and honours, and was profuse in gifts as well as in shows and magnificence: but as in the midst of his course of conciliation he could not refrain from acts of rapacity, and never repressed his arbitrary temper, he was only partially successful in his attempts to gain popularity; and, although his reign was long and glorious, he was always disturbed by conspiracies and rebellions, and disquieted by suspicions even of his own family and of those most trusted by him.

A. D. 1297, A. H. 697. Expedition to Guzerát.

His first great undertaking was an expedition to Guzerát. Shaháb u dín's garrison had long been withdrawn, and the rája had recovered his independence. The present conquest was final. Alif Khán, the king's brother, and his vizír, Núsrat Khán, who were at the head of the army, almost immediately took possession of the province; the rája flying to Báglána, the nearest part of the Deckan.

A harsh attempt to compel the troops to give up their plunder, while on their return towards Delhi, brought on a dangerous mutiny, in which the vizír's brother and the king's nephew lost their lives. It was at last quelled, and many of the mutineers were killed; the survivors took refuge with the rája of Rintambór. Their families, including the women and children, were massacred by the king's order. The fugitives themselves, who appear to have been Mogul converts (always

the chief actors in scenes of turbulence in those days), were put to death when Rintambór was taken.*

Mogul incursions.

During the preceding year an incursion of the Moguls into the Panjáb had been repulsed with loss; and another, equally unsuccessful, took place about this time. It was followed up by a more serious invasion, apparently designed for conquest as well as plunder.† The commander was Kutlugh

* The emperor Báber, who, though a Túrk, was himself descended by the mother's side from Mogul ancestors, gives the following account of the Moguls in his service:—"The horde of Moguls have uniformly been the authors of every kind of mischief and devastation: down to the present time they have five times rebelled against me." (*Erskine's Báber*, p. 69.)

† At least eleven of these invasions are mentioned by Ferishta, not one of which is noticed by De Guignes, D'Herbelot, or Price, in their accounts of the Mogul transactions; and although there is a long list in D'Ohson (vol. iv. p. 559.), yet they are all given on the authority of Ferishta.

It is not improbable that the cruel ravages by which they were marked may have led the Indian historians to overrate the importance of the ordinary incursions; but, in some instances, especially in the present one, the silence of the European writers may perhaps be ascribed to the imperfect information they possess respecting Mogul affairs in the east of Persia and in Transoxiana.

The commander of the last expedition is called Chóldí Khán by Ferishta; and Touldai Khán was one of the officers of Gházán Khán, then king of Persia. (Price, vol. ii. p. 605.)

The most conspicuous general of the same monarch was Kutlugh Sháh, who was at Herát in this year, A. D. 1297. (Price, vol. ii. p. 616., and De Guignes, vol. iii. p. 270.), and might possibly have led an expedition to India, though circumstances make it improbable. Opposed to this coincidence of names, which would lead us to suppose these invasions to have been made by the Moguls of Persia, is the positive assertion of

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Serious invasion by the Moguls.

Khán, whom Ferishta describes as the son of Dáúd Khán, king of Transoxiana. He marched straight to Delhi, the Indian army which had been sent to oppose him retreating as he advanced, and the whole population of the surrounding country flying to the capital.

So great was the crowd of fugitives that all communication through the streets was interrupted; the provisions were almost immediately consumed, and in a few days famine was added to the miseries and terrors of the inhabitants.

Alá u dín was forced in these circumstances to give up his intention of declining an action. He moved out at the head of all the troops he could collect; and Ferishta alleges that the number of men assembled on both sides exceeded all that ever appeared in one place in India up to the time when he wrote.

Their defeat at Delhi.

This most important contest was gained by Alá u dín, almost entirely from the skill displayed by Zafar Khán, who was before his most distinguished general. But the great services of that gallant chief had already rendered him an object of jealousy to Alá u dín, and no less to Alif Khán, who pur-

Ferishta, that they and all the subsequent inroads originated in Dáúd Khán, king of Transoxiana, who, by his account, was the father of Kutlugh Khán. Dáúd Khán is evidently the Doizi or Davat Khán mentioned by De Guignes (vol. iii. p. 311., and note) as king of Transoxiana; and Kutlugh is so common a Mogul name that two persons may very probably have borne it at the same time. There does not, therefore, seem to be any ground for doubting Ferishta's account.

posely left him unsupported during the pursuit; and the Moguls, perceiving his reduced numbers, turned upon him and cut him to pieces, with his detachment, after a resistance worthy of his former exploits.

A. D. 1299, A. H. 699.

About a year after this deliverance, Alá u dín dispatched an army, under his brother and the vizír, to reduce the hill fort of Rintambór.* They took a place called Jháyin, not far from Rintambór, and proceeded to lay siege to that fortress. In the commencement of the operations the vizír was killed by a stone from an engine; and the garrison, making a sally, compelled the besiegers to fall back on Jháyin, and wait for reinforcements from Delhi. Alá u dín, on this, determined to prosecute the siege in person, and had made some progress on his march, when he had nearly fallen a victim to a crime of which he had himself set the example. His nephew, Prince Solimán, who held one of the highest offices in the state, reflecting on the resemblance between his own situation and that from which the present king had risen to the throne, was led to think that a similar attempt on his part might be attended with equal success. A favourable opportunity soon presented itself, when the king was hunting at a distance from the camp, and was left with only two or three attendants, in consequence of the occupations of the chase. At

Designs of the king's nephew.

He attempts to assassinate the king.

* It does not appear when this place was lost. It was besieged by insurgents, and defended by the king of Delhi's troops, in A. D. 1259.

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this moment, Solimán approached him with some of the newly converted Moguls; and before he had any suspicion of their purpose, they discharged their arrows at him with such effect that he fell senseless on the ground. Solimán, conceiving that his object was accomplished, gallopped directly to the camp, announced the king's death and his own accession, and directed himself to be formally proclaimed. While he was seated on his throne, and receiving the homage of the great officers, Alá u dín came gradually to himself; and, after his wounds were bound up, determined to proceed to join his brother at Jháyin. He was dissuaded from this by one of his officers, who advised him not to give his nephew time to establish his authority, but to show himself to the army, whose fidelity he had no reason to distrust. Alá u dín saw the wisdom of his advice, and mounting his horse, wounded as he was, he proceeded towards the camp. He met some foraging parties on his way, by which his retinue was increased to about 500 horse. With this escort, he presented himself on an eminence, in full view of the camp, and displayed the white umbrella, which was then the sign of sovereignty. He was no sooner perceived than the whole army flocked to join him; and the usurper, finding himself left almost alone, mounted his horse, and sought for safety in a precipitate flight. He was overtaken, and his head brought to the king, who put the other conspirators to death.

His failure and death.

Other disturbances quelled.

The king then proceeded to join his brother,

and soon after resumed the siege of Rintambór. But his utmost efforts were insufficient to take the place; and, before long, he received intelligence of the revolt of two of his other nephews, at Badáyun. He did not think it necessary to move himself on this occasion: he suppressed the rebellion by means of his officers; and when his nephews were sent to him, he first put out their eyes, and afterwards ordered them to be beheaded.

The ill success of these rebellions did not prevent the occurrence of another of a still more extraordinary character. Háji Moula, a young slave of one of the principal families in Delhi, took advantage of some discontent against the chief magistrate of police to collect a mob and put him to death, under pretence of an order from the king; and having thus got a body of infuriated followers, he proceeded to take possession of the city, to release the prisoners, distribute the royal arms and treasures among his adherents, and to set up a prince of the royal family for king. The decided conduct of a local officer prevented the ill effects of this explosion. He contrived to introduce a body of troops into the capital, killed Háji Moula, dispersed his rabble, and put his new king to death.

Many executions followed by the king's order; and, amongst others, the whole family of Háji Moula's former master. Men, women, and children were slaughtered, without a charge against them.

At length, Rintambór fell after a siege of more

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than a year. The rája, with his family, and the garrison, were put to the sword.

A.D. 1300, A. H. 700.

A. D. 1303, A. H. 703. Capture of Chitór.

In the year 1303, Alá u dín went, in person, against Chitór, a celebrated hill fort in Méwár, and the principal seat of the Rájpút tribe of Sesódia. He took the fort, made the rája prisoner, and left the eldest of his own sons as governor. Next year the rája escaped, and made himself so formidable, that Alá u dín found it prudent to make over the fort to another Rájpút prince, named Máldeó, who, by Ferishta's account, was a nephew of the rája, but who is represented by the Rájpúts as a person of another family. Máldeó remained tributary to Delhi until near the end of Alá u dín's reign, when he was expelled by Hamír, a son of the former rája.*

Unsuccessful invasions of the Moguls.

Alá u dín was recalled from these conquests by a new Mogul invasion and another attack on Delhi. His force was so much weakened by detachments, that when he arrived at the capital he was unable to meet the enemy in the field, and obliged to intrench his camp.

The Moguls, who, probably, were not prepared for protracted operations, withdrew without a battle; and their retreat was ascribed, by the piety of the age, to a panic sent among them on the prayer of Nizám u dín Oulia, a celebrated saint then alive.

A. D. 1304–5, A. H. 704–5.

In the next two years there were three Mogul

* The descendant of this family is now rána of Oudipúr, the chief of the Rájpút princes.

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inroads, one of which penetrated, by the north of the Panjáb, into Róhilcand.

On all those occasions the prisoners were sent to Delhi, where the chiefs were trampled to death by elephants, and the men butchered in cold blood.*

Discontinuance of their incursions.

These were the last Mogul invasions for many years.

Expedition to the Deckan.

Though Alá u dín's continual occupation since his accession had, in some measure, withdrawn his attention from the Deckan, he had not forgotten the scene of his early exploits. At the time of his own expedition to Chitór (A. D. 1303, A. H. 703), he sent an army through Bengal, to attack Warangól, the capital of Télingána, situated to the south of the river Godáveri; and he now prepared a great force, for the purpose of reducing the rája of Deógíri, who had, of late, withheld his tribute. Malik Cáfúr, who commanded this army, was a eunuch, and had been the slave of a merchant at Cambay, from whom he was taken, by force, during the conquest of Guzerát. Having come into the king's possession, he so completely won his master's affections that he rose to the highest offices, and excited the utmost disgust among the nobles by his rapid promotion from so base an origin. He now proceeded through Málwá, and by Sultánpúr in Cándésh, to Deógíri. Before he commenced the siege, he overran the greater part of the Maratta country; and so im-

A. D. 1306, A. H. 706.

* Ferishta says 9000 on one occasion.

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pressed Rám Deó with the impossibility of resistance, that he came out of his fortress, and agreed to accompany Cáfúr to Delhi. He was there received with favour, returned loaded with honours, and from that time forward remained faithful to the Mussulmans. A circumstance occurred during this expedition which deserves to be mentioned.

Story of the Princess Déwal Dévi.

Alp Khán, governor of Guzerát, (who must be distinguished from A'lif Khán, the king's brother,) had been directed to march to Deógíri, to cooperate with Cáfúr. His road lay through Báglána, where the fugitive rája of Guzerát had taken refuge, as has been related. This rája's wife, Cáula Dévi, had been taken prisoner during his flight; and having been carried to Alá u dín's harem, had gained a great share of his favour by her beauty and talents. On hearing of the intended march of these forces, she entreated that means might be taken to recover her daughter by the rája, who still remained with the exiled prince. Alp Khán was enjoined to attend to this object, and endeavoured, by the offer of favourable terms, to prevail on the rája to give up his daughter. The rája rejected his overtures, and Alp Khán marched against him. The princess, whose name was Déwal Dévi, had long been sued for by the son of Rám Deó, the rája of Deógíri; but her father, considering a Maratta, however high in station, as an unworthy match for the daughter of a Rájpút, had rejected all his offers. In the present extremity, however, he gave a reluctant con-

sent, and the princess was sent off, with an escort, to Deógíri. Immediately after her departure, Alp Khán succeeded in defeating and dispersing the rája's army. His victory afforded him little satisfaction, when he found that the princess had escaped him; and knowing the influence of Cáula Dévi, and the impetuous temper of the king, he gave up his whole attention to the means of accomplishing an object which they had both so much at heart. His utmost efforts were not attended with success; and he had arrived within a march of Deógíri without hearing any tidings of the princess, when a party who had gone from his camp to see the caves of Ellóra happened, by mere chance, to fall in with her escort; and being under the necessity of fighting in self-defence, they dispersed the escort, and captured the princess, before they were aware of the importance of their acquisition. Alp Khán, delighted with his prize, immediately marched with her to Delhi. Her beauty made such an impression on the king's eldest son, Khizr Khán, that he soon after married her; and their loves are the subject of a celebrated Persian poem, by Amír Khusru.

This incident is remarkable, as showing the intermixture which had already taken place between the Hindús and Mahometans; and also as leading to the first mention of the caves of Ellóra, which have been compared, as works of labour, to the pyramids of Egypt, and which, in reality, far surpass them as specimens of art.

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During this expedition of Cáfúr, the king, in person, reduced Jhálór and Sewána, places in Márwár, to the north of Guzerát.

A. D. 1309, A. H. 709. Failure of an expedition to Télingána.

After the return of Cáfúr, according to Ferishta, Alá u dín received accounts of the failure of his expedition to Warangól. He had been induced to send it by an unexplored route from Bengal, in consequence of the solicitation of the rája of Orissa, who had become jealous of the extension of his neighbour's power.* It is not recorded how it failed, or how the contest was so long protracted. Cáfúr was sent to retrieve the disaster. He marched by Deógíri, ravaged the north of Télingána, gained a great victory in the field, took the strong fort of Warangól after a siege of some months, and compelled the rája to pay a large contribution and submit to permanent tribute.

A. D. 1310, A. H. 710. Conquest of Carnáta,

Next year Cáfúr was again sent to the Deckan, against the Belál rája of Carnáta.† He marched by Deógíri, crossed the Godáveri, at Peitan, and penetrated, after a great battle, to Dwára Samúdra, the capital, which he took; and, having made the rája prisoner, put an end to the dynasty of Belál.‡

and of Maáber, up to Cape Comorin.

He does not appear to have invaded the western part of the Belál possessions; but he reduced the

* Wilson's Introduction to the Mackenzie Catalogue, p. cxxxii. For an account of the principality of Warangól, see Vol. I. p. 417.

† See Vol. I. p. 416.

‡ Wilson's Introduction to the Mackenzie Collection, p. cxiii. Dwára Samúdra was situated in the heart of Carnáta, about 100 miles north-west of Seringapatam, where its ruins still remain. (*Buchanan's Journey*, vol. iii. p. 391.)

whole of their eastern territory, including Maáber on the sea coast, as far south as Ráméshwar, or Adam's Bridge, opposite Ceylon. He there built a mosque, which was still standing when Ferishta wrote.*

After this expedition, Cáfúr returned, with vast treasures, to Delhi.†

* Briggs's Ferishta, vol. i. p. 373. Maáber (the place of crossing over) has very generally been supposed to be Malabár, as well from the resemblance of the names as from the position of the latter country in reference to Arabia; but there is no doubt that the appellation really applies to the tract on the opposite coast, extending north from Ráméshwar. (See *Marsden's Marco Polo*, p. 626. note.) That Maáber in this sense was included in the Belál kingdom, appears from Professor Wilson's Introduction to the Mackenzie Collection, vol. i. p. cxi. It remained united to Delhi for twenty or thirty years, till near the middle of the fourteenth century; about which time Ibn Batúta crossed from Ceylon to Maáber, and found it in the possession of a Mahometan family, who had shortly before acquired it, in consequence of the revolt of Jelál u dín Hasan, a sherif or seiad, who had been a subject of Mohammed Tóghlak. The revolt of Seiad Hasan in Maáber against Mohammed Tóghlak is also mentioned by Ferishta. (Briggs, vol. i. p. 423.) It is not probable that Cáfúr conquered the western territory of the Beláls; because it appears from Wilks's "Mysore" that the remains of that family retired to Tónúr near Seringapatam; and Ibn Batúta found Malabár (which he visited on his way to, and on his return from, Maáber) in the hands of Hindú princes, except Honáwar, which was held by a Mussulman under the sovereignty of a Hindú. The Mussulman religion had been introduced in that quarter from Arabia, some centuries before Alá u dín's invasion of the Deckan; and it did not become the dominant one until the conquest of Malabár by Heider Ali.

† Ferishta states that, at this time, there was no silver coinage in the Carnatic; and Colonel Briggs observes that the same was true, to a certain extent, till very lately: the common coin

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Massacre of Mogul converts. A. D. 1311, A. H. 711.

It seems to have been about this time that Alá u dín at once discharged the whole of the Mogul converts from his service. Though habitually turbulent, they seem to have given no immediate occasion for this violent and imprudent measure. Being now driven to despair, some of them entered on a plot to assassinate the king; and on its being detected, the king ordered the whole of them (amounting, according to Ferishta, to 15,000) to be massacred, and their families to be sold for slaves.

Rám Deó had died before, or during, Cáfúr's last expedition; and his son, who succeeded him, was already suspected of disaffection. He now withheld his tribute; and some disturbances having likewise taken place in Carnáta, Cáfúr once more set out to quell them. He put the rája of Deógíri to death, and carried his arms over all Maharashtra and Carnáta, compelling those princes who still retained their territories to pay tribute; and, after accomplishing all the objects of his expedition, he returned again to Delhi.

A. D. 1312, A. H. 712. Taking of Deogíri, and conquest of Maharashtra.

Intrigues and influence of Cáfúr.

Alá u dín's constitution had by this time yielded to a long course of intemperance. His ill health made him more suspicious and irritable than ever; and, like most people who distrust the bulk of mankind, he was the dupe of one artful individual. This was Cáfúr, the extent of whose abilities was

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was the pagoda, and there was a small coin called a gold fanam, as low in value as a sixpence.

equalled by the depravity of his principles. The use he made of his influence was to destroy all who he thought might rival him in favour, and afterwards to irritate the king against his sons, and the queen their mother, who might otherwise have found means to reconcile him to his children. Cáfúr first encouraged him in the notion that he was slighted and neglected by them in his illness, and at last infused suspicions that they were plotting against his life. Alá u dín, notwithstanding his unfeeling nature, seems to have had some affection for his offspring; so that it was not till near his end that Cáfúr prevailed on him, by innumerable artifices, to commit the two eldest princes and the queen to prison. At the same time Cáfúr procured an order to make away with Alp Khán, whose power he dreaded, and thus to remove the only remaining obstacle to his seizing on the government on his master's death.

Meanwhile the king's blind subjection to his favourite, and the increased tyranny of his administration, excited general discontent. The nobles of the court were disgusted. Guzerát broke into open rebellion. It was at this time that Chitór was recovered by Rána Hamír; and Harpál, the son-in-law of Rámdeó, raised an extensive insurrection in the Deckan, and expelled many Mahometan garrisons.

Revolt of Guzerát. Recovery of Chitór by the Rájputs.

The paroxysms of rage produced by a succession of these tidings increased the king's sufferings, and

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soon brought him to the brink of the grave. His end is said to have been accelerated by poison, administered by Cáfúr.

Death of Alá u dín. A. D. 1316, Dec. 19.; A. H. 716, Shawál 6.

His character.

So great is the effect of vigour in a despotism, that although Alá u dín was ignorant and capricious, as well as cruel and tyrannical, yet his foreign conquests were among the greatest ever made in India, and his internal administration, in spite of many absurd and oppressive measures, was, on the whole, equally successful. Quiet and security prevailed throughout the provinces; wealth increased, and showed itself in public and private buildings, and in other forms of luxury and improvement. Alá u dín was so absolutely illiterate, that he began to learn to read after he had been for some time on the throne; yet so arrogant, that his most experienced ministers durst not venture to contradict him, and the best informed men about his court were careful to keep down their knowledge to the level of his acquirements. Nor did this presumption wear off with his youth: it increased in his latter days to such a pitch, that every word he uttered was considered as irrevocable. In the commencement of his career of prosperity, he entertained thoughts of setting up for a prophet, and founding a new religion; and when he had laid aside that fancy, he assumed the title of "The Second Alexander," and publicly discussed a project of universal conquest.

His internal policy.

Some curious features are preserved of his policy, and that of his age.

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At the time when he had been so often threatened by conspiracies, he called his counsellors together to consider the causes and the remedy. They traced his danger to three principal sources: — convivial meetings, where men opened their secret thoughts to each other; connections between great nobles, especially by intermarriages; and, above all, the unequal distribution of property, and the accumulation of wealth by governors of provinces. The king concurred in these opinions: he forbade the use of wine, and prohibited all private meetings and political discussions among the nobles of his court, till, at length, no man could entertain his friends without a written order from the vizír. No marriage among the nobility was allowed without a licence from the crown. Farmers were limited to a certain quantity of land, and a certain number of cattle and servants. Graziers, in like manner, were restricted as to the number of their flocks and herds. Official emoluments were reduced; the land tax was increased, and more rigorously exacted; and, at last, the king became so rapacious, that the private property both of Mussulmans and Hindús was confiscated without a cause, so that men were almost reduced to a level over all the empire.*

Among other measures of Alá u din's, one was

* It is difficult to reconcile this statement, the last words of which are Ferishta's, with the same author's glowing account of the general prosperity; but it is probable the unfavourable picture only applies to the last years of the reign.

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for fixing rates for the prices of all articles. This plan originated in a wish to reduce the pay of the troops, which the king thought would be unjust unless the expense of living was lowered likewise. Accordingly, prices were fixed for grain, cattle, horses, &c., and for all other commodities, which were classed for the purpose.* Everything was included except labour. Public granaries were constructed; importation was encouraged; exportation forbidden; money was advanced to merchants to enable them to import goods. Wholesale purchases were not allowed; hours were fixed for opening and shutting shops; and the whole was rendered effective by public reports to the king, and the employment of spies and informers to detect breaches of the regulation.

A dearth which ensued soon after occasioned a relaxation in enforcing the rules about grain; and the others, though not rescinded till the next reign, were probably in a great measure neglected after the king had cooled on his scheme.

One of Ala u dín's maxims was, that "religion had no connection with civil government, but was only the business, or rather amusement, of private life;" and another, that "the will of a wise prince was better than the opinions of variable bodies of men."

Alá u dín had reigned upwards of twenty years.

* Tables of the prices are given in Ferishta, and would be interesting if the value of the coins could be better ascertained.

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Mobárik Khilji.

On the death of Alá u dín, Cáfúr produced a pretended will of that prince, appointing his youngest son, an infant, to be his successor, under the guardianship of Cáfúr.

Having thus gained possession of the government, Cáfúr put out the eyes of the king's two eldest sons, and not long after sent assassins to murder the third son, Mobárik. The assassins, however, were won over and induced to spare him; and before Cáfúr had time to take further measures, he was himself assassinated by the royal guard, headed by their commander and his lieutenant.

Mobárik was immediately raised to the government. He did not assume the title of king for two months, at the end of which time he deprived his infant brother of sight, and sent him to a hill fort for life. A. D. 1317, March 22.; A. H. 717, Moharrem 7.

He next put to death the two officers who had placed him on the throne, and broke up the guard. He raised several of his slaves to high rank and office, and made one of them, a converted Hindú, to whom he gave the title of Khusru Khán, his vizír; so that his first acts gave an earnest of the bloody and licentious reign that was to follow.

These misdeeds were not entirely unmixed with good actions; he set free all prisoners, to the number of 17,000; a sweeping measure, which could only have been commendable after a reign like the

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preceding. He restored the lands confiscated by Alá u dín, removed his oppressive taxes, and abolished his restrictions on trade and property.

His military proceedings in the early part of his reign were not less meritorious. He sent an army to reduce Guzerát, and marched, himself, to the Deckan, where he took Harpál prisoner, and inhumanly ordered him to be flayed alive. Having completely restored tranquillity, he returned to Delhi, and gave himself up to a course of the most degrading and odious debauchery. One of his amusements was to accompany a troop of actresses in a female habit, and to dance along with them at the houses of the nobility. He was in a constant state of intoxication; and his chief delight appeared to be to display his worst vices to the public. It is not surprising that under such a prince there should be a continual succession of conspiracies and rebellions; each of which was followed by tortures and executions, and each gave rise to fresh suspicions, and additional acts of tyranny.

A. D. 1318, A. H. 718.

Conquest of Malabár.

During his expedition to the Deckan, he sent his favourite, Khusru, to conquer Malabár, which he effected in the course of a year, and brought a great treasure to Delhi. The whole administration of the government was then confided to him, and every man's life and fortune was at his mercy. He put some of the nobility to death, and struck such a terror into the rest, that they thought themselves fortunate in being allowed to quit the court, and leave the king to the machinations of his favourite. The opportunity was not lost on Khusru, who

A. D. 1319, A. H. 719. Influence of Khusru, and ascendancy of a Hindú party at court.

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surrounded the king with his creatures, and filled the capital with Hindú troops of his own cast, until at length, when his plot was matured, he perpetrated the murder of his infatuated master, and at once assumed the vacant throne. He put to death all the survivors of the family of Alá u dín, and transferred Déwal Dévi to his own seraglio. His other measures were in the same spirit. But, notwithstanding his infamous character and his manifold crimes, he did not fail to obtain adherents, and to strengthen his party. He not only brought his own low creatures into power, but endeavoured to gain over the established nobles, by investing them with some of the highest offices. Among this number was Júna Khán, the son of Gházi Khán Tóghlak, governor of the Panjáb, whose reputation and influence made it of the utmost consequence to conciliate him. In this Khusru failed. Júna Khán fled from court, and Gházi Khán went into open rebellion; and, marching to Delhi with the veteran troops of the frontier, he gained a victory over the dissolute and ill-commanded bands opposed to him, and put an end to the reign and life of the usurper, to the universal joy of the people.

A. D. 1321, March 24.; A. H. 721, Rabi ul áwal. Murder of Mobárik, and extirpation of his family.

A. D. 1321, Aug. 22.; A. H. 721, Rejéb 30.

On entering Delhi, Gházi Khán made a declaration that his only object was to deliver the country from oppression, and that he was willing to place any of the royal line on the throne. No member of the Khilji family was found to have survived, and Tóghlak was himself proclaimed under the title of Gheiás u dín.

CHAP. III.

HOUSE OF TÓGHLAK, SEIADS, AND HOUSE OF LODI.

HOUSE OF TÓGHLAK.

Gheiás u dín Tóghlak.

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GHEIÁS U DÍN TÓGHLAK was the son of a Turkí slave of Gheiás u dín *Bulbun*, by an Indian mother.

A. D. 1321, A. H. 721.

His whole reign was as commendable as his accession was blameless. He began by restoring order in his internal administration, and by putting his frontier in an effective state of defence against the Moguls. He then sent his son, Júna Khán, to settle the Deckan, where affairs had fallen into disorder. Júna Khán's operations were successful, until he reached Warangól, on the fortifications of which place he was unable to make any impression: the siege was protracted until the setting in of the hot winds, and perhaps till the first burst of the rainy season; a malignant distemper broke out in his camp; and his troops, already depressed by these disasters, were alarmed by false reports of the death of the king, and a revolution at Delhi. At length, some of his principal officers deserted him with their troops; and the prince himself, endeavouring to retreat with the rest, was pressed by

A. D. 1322, A. H. 722. Failure of an expedition to Telingán.

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the Hindús, and pursued with great slaughter, towards Doulatábád. He only brought back 3000 horse, out of his whole army, to Delhi. Júna Khán proved himself so indiscreet and self-willed in his own reign, that it is difficult to help ascribing a share of his failure, in this instance, to himself. He was more successful in his next attempt; he took Bidr, a place of strength and importance; and afterwards reduced Warangól, and brought the rája prisoner to Delhi.*

Conquest of Telingána. Capture of Warangól, the capital. A. D. 1323. A. H. 723. A.D. 1323. A.H. 723.

After this the king proceeded in person to Bengal, where Bakarra Khán, the father of the former king, Kei Kobád, still retained his government, after a lapse of forty years. He was now confirmed in possession, and permitted the use of royal ornaments, by the son of his father's former slave.

The king also settled some disturbances in Súnárgong (now Dacca†), which seems to have been a province independent of Bengal. On his way back, he reduced Tirhút (formerly Mithila), and took the rája prisoner.

Death of the king.

As he approached the capital, he was met by his eldest son Júna Khán, who received him with magnificence in a wooden pavilion erected for the occasion. During the ceremonies, the building gave way, and the king, with five other persons, was crushed in its fall. This misfortune may have been purely accidental; but the unusualness of erecting such a structure at all, the opportune absence of

* The rája was afterwards released and restored.

† Hamilton's Hindostan, vol. i. p. 187.

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the eldest prince at the moment, and the circumstance of the second, who was his father's favourite, being involved in the same calamity, fixed strong suspicions on the successor, in whose favour every thing turned out so well.*

A. D. 1325, February; A. H. 725, Rabi ul áwal.

The fort or castle of Tóghlakábád, which is remarkable even at Delhi for its massive grandeur, was built by Gheás u dín.

Mohammed Tóghlak.

A. D. 1325, A. H. 725. Character of Mohammed Tógh-

Júna Khán, who assumed the name of Sultán Mohammed, took possession of his dignity with extraordinary magnificence; and distributed gifts and pensions to his friends, and to men of learning, with a profusion never before equalled.

He established hospitals and almshouses on the same liberal scale; and throughout his whole reign his munificence to the learned was such as to deserve and to obtain their warmest expressions of praise.

It is admitted, on all hands, that he was the most eloquent and accomplished prince of his age. His letters, both in Arabic and Persian, were admired for their elegance, long after he had ceased to reign. His memory was extraordinary; and besides a thorough knowledge of logic, and the philosophy of the Greeks, he was much attached to mathematics and to physical science; and used, himself, to attend sick persons, for the purpose of watching the symptoms of any extraordinary dis-

* See Ibn Batuta, p. 130.

ease. He was regular in his devotions; abstained from wine; and conformed, in his private life, to all the moral precepts of his religion. In war he was distinguished for his gallantry and personal activity; so that his contemporaries were justified in esteeming him as one of the wonders of the age.

Yet the whole of these splendid talents and accomplishments were given to him in vain; they were accompanied by a perversion of judgment which, after every allowance for the intoxication of absolute power, leaves us in doubt whether he was not affected by some degree of insanity. His whole life was spent in pursuing visionary schemes, by means equally irrational, and with a total disregard of the sufferings which they occasioned to his subjects; and its results were more calamitous than those of any other Indian reign.

His first act was one which neither his virtues nor defects would have led us to anticipate. An army of Moguls, under a very celebrated general, Teimúrshín Khán, having entered the Panjáb, he bought them off by the payment of an immense contribution; and this first instance of such policy in India was not, as might have been expected, followed by fresh invasions.

His next measure was equally inconsistent with his character; for it was perfectly rational and well-judged. He completed the reduction of the Deckan, and brought his most remote provinces into as good order as those near his capital.

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He then plunged into the career which seemed naturally suited to his genius.

Wild schemes of Mohammed.

He first determined on the conquest of Persia; and assembled a vast army *, which, after it had consumed his treasures, dispersed for want of pay, and carried pillage and ruin to every quarter.

Projected conquest of Persia.

Attempt to conquer China.

His next undertaking was to conquer China, and fill his exhausted coffers with the plunder of that rich monarchy. With this view he sent an army of 100,000 men through the Hémaláya mountains; but when the passage was effected, the Indians found a powerful Chinese army assembled on the frontier, with which theirs, reduced in numbers, and exhausted by fatigue, was unable to cope. Their provisions likewise failed; and the approach of the rainy season did not admit of a moment's delay in falling back.

During their retreat they were harassed by the mountaineers, slaughtered by the pursuing enemy, and worn out by famine. The Chinese were at last checked by the torrents of rain which began to fall, and the Indians, in time, made their way through the mountains; but they now found the low country inundated, and the hills covered with impervious jungle. So terrible were the calamities of their retreat, that at the end of fifteen days scarcely a man was left to tell the tale; and many of those who had been left behind in garrisons, as the army advanced, were put to death by the king.

* Ferishta makes it amount to 370,000 horse.

as if they had contributed to the failure of this ill-starred expedition.

Introduction of paper money.

As this expedient had failed to relieve the king's wants, he had recourse to another, almost equally ill-contrived. He had heard of the use of paper money in China, and he now introduced the system into his own dominions, substituting copper tokens for paper. The king's insolvency, and the instability of his government, destroyed the credit of his tokens from the first; foreign merchants refused to take them, and all attempts at compulsion were evaded, even at home: trade, in consequence, was at a stand; and confusion and distress were spread throughout all ranks. The king gained, to appearance, in the payment of his debts, but his receipts were diminished in the same proportion; the roots of his revenue were struck at by the impoverished condition of his subjects; and the result of all this sacrifice of the fortunes of the people was to leave his own in greater embarrassment than ever.

Tyranny and exactions of the king.

The king's exactions, which were always excessive, were now rendered intolerable by the urgency of his necessities: the husbandmen abandoned their fields, fled to the woods, and, in many places, maintained themselves by rapine; many towns were likewise deserted, and Mohammed, driven to fury by the disorders which he had himself occasioned, revenged himself by a measure which surpassed all his other enormities. He ordered out his army as if for a grand hunt, sur-

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rounded an extensive tract of country, as is usual on the great scale of the Indian chace, and then gave orders that the circle should close towards the centre, and that all within it (mostly inoffensive peasants) should be slaughtered like wild beasts. This sort of hunt was more than once repeated; and on a subsequent occasion there was a general massacre of the inhabitants of the great city of Canouj. These horrors led in due time to famine, and the miseries of the country exceeded all power of description.

Rebellions.

All this oppression was not allowed to pass without attempts to shake it off. Mohammed's own

A. D. 1338, A. H. 739.

nephew first revolted in Málwa; and, being pursued by the king into the Deckan, was taken and flayed alive. Malik Beirám, the old friend of the king's father, whom he had helped to mount the

A. D. 1339, A. H. 740.

throne, next rebelled in the Panjáb, and was also subdued and put to death.

Permanent revolt of Bengal, about A. D. 1340, A. H. 741; and of the coast of Coromandel.

Bengal soon after revolted under a Mussulman officer, and was never again subdued. The country on the coast of Coromandel almost immediately followed the example, and had the same success.

The king went in person to put down this last rebellion; but his army was attacked by a pestilence at Warangól, and suffered so much by its ravages, that he was obliged to return to Deógíri. On his way he had occasion to have a tooth drawn, and he buried it, with great ceremony, under a magnificent tomb.

Meanwhile the Afgháns crossed the Indus and

ravaged the Panjáb. When they retired, they were succeeded by the Gakkars, who took Láhór, and completed the ruin of the province.

Restoration of the Hindú kingdoms of Carnáta and Telingána. A. D. 1344, A. H. 744.

The rájas of Carnáta and Télingána now formed a combination to recover their independence. The former was the founder of a new dynasty, erected on the ruins of that of Belál, which fixed its capital at Bijáyanagar, and maintained a nearly equal struggle with the Mussulmans until near the end of the sixteenth century; the latter regained possession of Warangól, while Mohammed's garrisons were expelled from every part of their dominions.

Other rebellions.

The famine in Hindostan being at this time at its height, the governor of Sambal became unable to collect his revenue, and, dreading the king's violence, went into rebellion. He was soon crushed, as was a similar insurgent at Bidr in the Deckan; but a new rebellion almost immediately followed in the latter place by one of the chiefs of converted Moguls, or, as they were now called, Amír Jadída, or new nobility. The present revolt was quashed, but their other chiefs remained as ready as ever to profit by any new disturbance.

A. D. 1345, A. H. 745.

A. D. 1346, A. H. 746.

The next rebellion was that of Ein ul Múlk, who, being removed from his government of Oud to that of the Deckan, suspected the king's intentions, and threw off his allegiance. He was soon reduced, and, contrary to all expectation, was pardoned, and restored to his office.

The governor of the Deckan, who had hitherto

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made head against his continually increasing difficulties, was afterwards removed; and the country was placed under the king's son-in-law, Imád ul Mulk, while a great addition was laid on the revenue of the province.

Málwa likewise was put under a new governor of low origin, who showed his zeal by a treacherous massacre of seventy of the Mogul Amírs; on which the officers of the same nation in Guzerát prevailed on the rest of the troops to join them in rebellion. The king suppressed this insurrection in person, and ravaged his own province as if it had been an enemy's, giving up the rich towns of Cambay and Surat to plunder.

Rebellion of the Mogul troops in Guzerát.

A. D. 1347, A. H. 748.

Some of the rebels of Guzerát, having taken refuge in the Deckan, were protected by the Mogul Amírs in that province; which Mohammed so highly resented that he ordered those chiefs to be made prisoners. They soon after effected their escape, raised a general rebellion, and proclaimed Ismáel Khán, an Afghán general, king. Mohammed Tóghlak, with a courage and activity worthy of a better cause, hastened to the Deckan, defeated the insurgents, and shut up the chiefs and their king in the fort of Deógíri. Before he could complete his success by the capture of that fortress, his presence was required by a new revolt of Guzerát; and as he was marching to suppress it, the people of the Deckan rose on his rear, and plundered his baggage and elephants. The disturbance in Guzerát was, however, got under, and

General revolt of the Deckan.

Vigour and activity of the king.

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the chiefs compelled to take refuge with the Rájpút princes of Tatta in Sind, when intelligence arrived from the Deckan that things had there assumed a more formidable shape than ever. The rebel king had abdicated in favour of Hasan Gangu (who founded the new dynasty of Bahmani), and under his auspices the insurgents had defeated and slain Mohammed's son-in-law, Imád ul Mulk, and not only recovered the Deckan, but induced the governor of Málwa to join in their insurrection. Mohammed, now sensible of his error in hastening to oppose every new revolt, and not first settling that on hand, determined to place Guzerát on a secure footing before he ventured to confront the increased difficulties which threatened him in the Deckan. Although already in precarious health, he set out after the fugitives to Sind. He was opposed by the rebels on the Indus, but crossed the river in defiance of them, and had reached Tatta, when he had an accession of illness, and died in that city, leaving the reputation of one of the most accomplished princes and most furious tyrants that ever adorned or disgraced human nature.

Death of Mohammed Toghlák. A. D. 1351, March 20.; A. H. 752, Moharram 21.

Among the many projects of Mohammed, none occasioned so much misery, or gave rise to so much complaint, as that of transferring the capital from Delhi to Deógíri. The design was by no means unreasonable in itself, if it had been begun without precipitancy, and conducted with steadiness. But Mohammed, as soon as the fancy struck him, ordered the whole of the inhabitants of Delhi to

Removal of the capital to Deógíri, and other caprices of Mohammed.

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remove to Deógíri, to which he gave the name of Doulatábád.* After this the people were twice permitted to return to Delhi, and twice compelled, on pain of death, to leave it: one of these movements took place during a famine, and caused a prodigious loss of life, and all were attended with ruin and distress to thousands. The plan entirely failed in the end.

Another of his whims was to acknowledge the sovereignty of the nominal calif in Egypt, to solicit investiture from him, and strike out of the list of kings all who had not received a similar confirmation of their title.

Another very expensive one was to divide the country into districts of sixty miles square, that the cultivation might be carried on under the management of the government.

Foreign accounts of his court and government.

Many particulars regarding this reign are given by Ibn Batúta, a native of Tangiers, who travelled over all Asia, and visited the court of Mohammed about A. D. 1341, and who could have no interest in misrepresentation, as he wrote after his return to Africa. He confirms, to their full extent, the native accounts both of the king's talents and of his crimes, and gives exactly such a picture of mixed

* On this occasion he completed the present fort, which still affords a stupendous proof of the great scale of his undertakings. The rock round the hill is cut perfectly smooth and perpendicular for 180 feet, — the only entrance being through a winding passage in the heart of the rock. The whole is surrounded by a broad and deep ditch, cut also in the solid rock.

magnificence and desolation as one would expect under such a sovereign. He found an admirably regulated horse and foot post from the frontiers to the capital, while the country was so disturbed as to make travelling unsafe. He describes Delhi as a most magnificent city, its mosque and walls without an equal on earth; but, although the king was then re-peopling it, it was almost a desert. "The greatest city in the world (he says) had the fewest inhabitants."

The king being absent, he was carried, with some other noble and learned strangers, who arrived along with him, to the court of the queen-mother, where they were received and entertained with respect and attention, and dismissed with robes of honour. He had a house allotted him, with an ample supply of provisions and every thing he could desire, and 2000 dínárs were given to him "to pay for his washing."

His daughter happening to die, it was privately reported to the king by post; and when the funeral took place, he was surprised to find it attended by the vizír, and performed with all the ceremonies usual for the nobles of the country. The queen-mother sent for his wife to console her, and presented her with dresses and ornaments.

The king's own manners, when he returned, were as courteous as his previous proceedings. Ibn Batúta went out to meet him, and was graciously received, the king taking him by the hand and promising him every kindness. He afterwards

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made him a judge, conversed with him in Arabic on the duties of the office; and when Ibn Batúta hesitated, on account of his ignorance of the Indian language, the king, though somewhat ruffled by his starting difficulties, answered his objections with temper, and assigned him a most liberal salary. He afterwards paid his debts, to the amount of 55,000 dínárs, on his requesting it in an Arabic poem.* But Ibn Batúta soon found the dangerous ground he stood on. A particular dervise near Delhi falling under the king's suspicions, he immediately put him to death, and seized all persons who had frequented his cell. Among the number was Ibn Batúta, who was one of the very few who escaped with their lives. After this, he took an early opportunity of resigning his office; but the king, instead of being offended, attached him to an embassy which he was sending to China, in return for a very splendid one which had just reached his court.

The Mahometan territory in India at its greatest extent in this reign.

The Mahometan empire to the east of the Indus was more extensive in the early part of this king's reign than it ever was at any other period, but the provinces now lost were not all retrieved till the time of Aurangzíb; and, even in those which did not revolt, the royal authority received a shock from which it did not recover till the accession of the Mogul dynasty.

There is in general so little scruple about get-

* The dínár, at this period, seems to have been a very small coin; but I do not know its precise value.

ting rid of a bad king in the East, that it is seldom such extensive mischief is brought about by the misgovernment of one man. CHAP. III.

Fírúz Tóghlak.

On the death of Mohammed Tóghlak the army fell into disorders, in which, as usual, the Moguls were the principal actors. The Indian chiefs (now mentioned for the first time) succeeded in repressing them, and raised Fírúz u dín, the late king's nephew, to the throne. He left a detachment to settle Sind, and marched along the Indus to U'ch, and thence to Delhi, where he overcame an opposition set up in the name of a child, the real or supposititious son of his predecessor. A. D. 1351, A. H. 752.

Three years after his accession he made an attempt to recover Bengal, and overran the whole province, but was not able to reduce his enemy, until the rains setting in compelled him to retreat. A. D. 1353, A. H. 754.

At a later period he received embassies both from Bengal and the Deckan, and thus acknowledged the independence of both monarchs; though, perhaps, without renouncing his nominal superiority. Whether the treaty with Bengal was merely personal, or whether the death of the first king was a temptation for infringing it, we find the war almost immediately renewed with his successor, Secander, against whom Fírúz marched in person to the extreme south-east of Bengal. He afterwards renewed his treaty with Secander, whose A. D. 1356, A. H. 757. Independence of Bengal and the Deckan recognised.

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independence was no longer questioned. Several years after this adjustment, some provocation from Jám Báni, the Rajpút prince of Tatta, induced the king to march in person to Sind; and although his expedition was unsuccessful, his failure was softened by the nominal submission of the Jám. From Sind he went to Guzerát, where he left a new governor. In the course of a few years the death of this officer led to another appointment and a rebellion of no long duration.

A. D. 1372, A. H. 773.

The king's infirmities. A. D. 1385, A. H. 787.

Other affairs of less importance kept Fírúz in activity till A. D. 1385, when, having reached his eighty-seventh year, he became incapable, from his infirmities, of conducting his government, and it fell by degrees entirely into the hands of his vizír.

Rivalries at his court.

The enjoyment of power tempted that minister to secure its permanence by plotting against the heir apparent. He had nearly succeeded, through the usual calumnies, in paving his way to the succession by the removal of the king's eldest son, when that prince took the bold measure of secretly introducing himself into the seraglio, and throwing himself on the affection of his father. Fírúz, either from conviction or weakness, gave up the vizír, and soon after openly invested his son with the whole powers of the state.

The prince, whose name was Násir u dín, showed so little ability in the exercise of his authority, that in little more than a year he was displaced by two of his cousins. They raised a sedition in the capital, and, making use of the name of the old king, whose person they had secured,

obliged Násir u dín to fly to the mountains of Sarmór, between the upper courses of the Jamna and Satlaj. They then announced that Fírúz had abdicated in favour of his grandson, Gheiás u dín.

His death. A. D. 1388, Oct. 23.; A. H. 790, Rámzán 3.

Almost immediately after this revolution Fírúz died at the age of ninety.

His laws.

His reign, though not brilliant in other respects, was distinguished for the enlightened spirit of his regulations, and the extent and utility of his public works. He limited the number of capital punishments, and put a stop to the use of torture and the practice of mutilation; which last prohibition was the more meritorious as it was at variance with the Mahometan law. He abolished a great number of vexatious taxes and fees; put an end to all fluctuating and precarious imposts, and fixed the revenues in such a manner as to leave as little discretion as possible to the collectors, and to give precision and publicity to the demands of the state. He in some measure fell into the spirit of his times in punishing atheism by banishment, but showed his usual good sense in discouraging luxury in apparel by his own example rather than by sumptuary laws.

His public works.

The following list is given of his public works, for the maintenance of which lands were assigned: 50 dams across rivers, to promote irrigation; 40 mosques; 30 colleges; 100 caravanserais; 30 reservoirs for irrigation; 100 hospitals; 100 public baths; 150 bridges; besides many other edifices for pleasure or ornament.

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The round numbers as well as the amount of some of the items suggest doubts of the accuracy of this list; but the works of Fírúz that still remain afford sufficient evidence of the magnitude of his undertakings. The most considerable of these is not specified in the list: it is a canal from the point in the Jamna where it leaves the mountains, by Cárnál, to Hánsi and Hissár. It reaches to the river Gágar, and in former times was again connected with the Satlaj, the nearest of the rivers of the Panjáb. It seems to have been intended for irrigation; but as it has been disused, perhaps, since the death of Fírúz, we can only judge of it by the part restored by the British government, which takes in the whole to beyond Hissár, a distance of 200 miles. This portion now turns mills for grinding corn (which before were not used in India), and is also employed in saw mills and oil and sugar mills. It floats down rafts of wood from the mountains, and is capable of conveying merchandise in boats of a certain construction; but its great object is irrigation, by means of which it has fertilised a large tract, and turned the inhabitants from pastoral life to agriculture.*

Gheías u dín Tóghlak II.

A. D. 1389, February.; A. H. 791, Suffar.

Gheiás u dín soon quarrelled with his kinsmen by whom he had been raised; and was deposed and murdered at the end of five months.

* Major Colvin, *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. ii. p. 105.

Abubekr Tóghlak.

Abubekr, grandson of Fírúz by another son, was next made king, and had reigned for a year, when Násir u dín left the mountains, where he had remained since his expulsion, returned at the head of an army, and recovered the capital. A contest followed, and lasted for several months, during which time Delhi was more than once lost and recovered, until at length Násir u dín obtained permanent possession, and soon after made his rival prisoner. It was a remarkable circumstance in this contest, that a Hindú chief named Rái Sarwar was among the most important of the adherents of Násir, and that the Hindús of Méwát took an active part for his opponent. The household troops, who were all foreigners, having shown particular hostility to the conqueror, were banished the city; and as some endeavoured to conceal their character, recourse was had to a test like the Jewish Shiboleth, and all were treated as foreigners who could not pronounce a certain letter peculiar to the languages of Hindostan. From these circumstances we may judge of the increased importance of the Hindús, and of the *native* Mahometans, since the separation of the kingdoms of Ghór and India.

A. D. 1389, November; A. H. 792, Zí Haj.

A. D. 1390, August; A. H. 793, Rámzán.

Násir u dín Tóghlak.

The second reign of Násir u dín, though it presented a scene of general disorder, was marked by few great events.

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Farhat ul Mulk, the governor of Guzerát, revolted, and was reduced by Mozaffer Khán, who revolted, himself, in the next reign. There was also a rebellion of Ráhtór Rájpúts beyond the Jamna; and the weakness into which the royal authority had fallen became every where apparent.

This king's vizír was a Hindú convert, and was put to death on the accusation of his own nephew, an unconverted Hindú.

On the death of Násir u dín, his son Humáyun succeeded, but died at the end of forty-five days, when his younger brother Mahmúd was placed on the throne.

Mahmúd Tóghlak.

A. D. 1394, A. H. 796.

The young king was a minor, and little qualified to restore the lost authority of the crown. Mozaffer Khán, the governor of Guzerát, began to act as an independent prince. Málwa, which had been reannexed to the crown after the separation of the Deckan, now permanently threw off the yoke, as did the little province of Cándésh; and these new kingdoms remained independent until the time of Akber.

Dissolution of the monarchy.

The king's own vizír also seized on the province of Júanpúr, and founded a kingdom. Meanwhile the capital was torn by sanguinary broils between factions. The remaining provinces looked on with indifference, or fell into disputes among themselves; and while the attention of all parties

was absorbed in these fierce commotions, the invasion of Tamerlane burst upon their heads and overwhelmed the contending parties in one common ruin.

Invasion of Tamerlane.

Tamerlane had united the hordes of Tartary in the same manner, though not to the same extent, as Chengíz Khán; and, like him, he had carried his destructive inroads into all the surrounding countries. Though a Túrk and a Mussulman *, and born in a comparatively civilised country, he was almost as barbarous in his mode of war, and at least as short-sighted in his policy, as the Mogul. His empire was even more transient, since he did not attempt to retain the greater part of the countries he overran; and if some of the fragments that remained to his family became flourishing provinces, it was because the character of his descendants formed almost a contrast to his own. He had conquered Persia and Transoxiana, and ravaged Tartary, Georgia, and Mesopotamia, with parts of Russia and Siberia, before he turned his arms, without the pretext of a quarrel, on the distracted empire of Hindostan.

A. D. 1398, A. H. 800.

Early in the spring of A. D. 1398 †, Pír Mo-

* Tamerlane, or the Amír Teimúr, as he is called in Asia, was born at Késh, near Samarcand, where the languages are Túrki and Persian, and where his family had been settled for 200 years. He claimed a remote descent from the same stock with Chengíz Khán; but all that is certain is, that his grandfather was chief of the tribe of Berlás.

† Tamerlane's proceedings are from Price, vol. iii. p. 219, &c., Rennel's Memoir, p. 115, &c., and Briggs's Ferishta.

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hammed, the grandson of Tamerlane, who had been employed in reducing the Afgháns in the mountains of Solimán, crossed the Indus in a line with U'ch, and soon after laid siege to Multán; an operation which occupied him for upwards of six months.

Meanwhile, Tamerlane passed Hindú Cúsh by the usual route to Cábul*; left that city in August, and marched by Haryúb and Bannu to Dínkót on the Indus.† He crossed that river by a bridge of rafts and reeds, and marched to the Hydaspes, and down its banks to Tulamba, reducing the country as he passed. He levied a heavy contribution on Tulamba, which was afterwards sacked, and the inhabitants massacred by the troops, — it is said, without his orders.

By this time, Pír Mohammed had taken Multán by blockade; but the rains having set in, he lost his horses, and was at length obliged to shut himself up in the town. On the approach of Tamerlane, he set out to meet him, leaving a garrison in Multán, and joined his father on the Gára or Satlaj.

A. D. 1398, Oct. 25.

Tamerlane thence proceeded with a light detachment to Adjudin, where he met with no sort of resistance; and as the town was famous for the tomb of a Mahometan saint, "out of respect for

* His previous expedition into the mountains of the Síapósh Cáfirs will be read with interest in Price, from Mírkhónd.

† The exact position of Dínkót is not known, but it must be to the south of the salt range.

his memory, he spared the few inhabitants who remained in the place." He then proceeded to Batnér, and massacred the country people who had taken refuge under the walls. The place afterwards surrendered on terms; but, by one of those mistakes which so constantly accompanied Tamerlane's capitulations, the town was burned, and all the inhabitants put to the sword. He then marched to Sámána, where he joined his main body, having slaughtered the inhabitants of every place he passed. From Sámána the towns were deserted, and consequently there were no more general massacres. Many prisoners were, however, taken; and on reaching Delhi, Tamerlane put to death all of them above fifteen years of age (to the number, according to the exaggerated accounts of the Mussulman historians, of 100,000).

Nov. 9.

Dec. 12.

The Indian army, which was inferior in numbers, and divided in councils, being defeated and driven into the town, Mahmúd Tóghlak fled to Guzerát; Delhi surrendered under a solemn promise of protection; and Tamerlane was publicly proclaimed emperor of India.

Defeat of the Indian army.

Dec. 17.

What follows is so constant a concomitant of Tamerlane's promises of protection, that we are at a loss whether to ascribe it to systematic perfidy, or to the habitual ferocity and insubordination of the troops. On this occasion, the most credible accounts attribute *the commencement* to the latter cause. Plunder and violence brought on resistance: "this led to a general massacre; some

Sack, conflagration, and massacre of Delhi.

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streets were rendered impassable by heaps of dead; and the gates being forced, the whole Mogul army gained admittance, and a scene of horror ensued easier to be imagined than described."*

For five days Tamerlane remained a tranquil spectator of the sack and conflagration of the city, and during that time he was celebrating a feast in honour of his victory. When the troops were wearied with slaughter, and nothing was left to plunder, he gave orders for the prosecution of his march; and on the day of his departure he "offered up to the Divine Majesty *the sincere and humble tribute of grateful praise* in the noble mosque of polished marble" erected on the banks of the Jamna by Fírúz.†

A. D. 1398, Dec. 31.

The booty carried off from Delhi is said to have been very great; and innumerable men and women of all ranks were dragged into slavery. Tamerlane secured to himself the masons and workers in stone and marble, for the purpose of constructing a mosque at Samarcand.

Tamerlane retires from India.

He then marched to Mírat, where there was a general massacre; and afterwards crossed the Ganges, and proceeded up its banks to near Hardwár, where that river leaves the mountains. Several affairs took place with bodies of Hindús in the skirts of the hills, in which Tamerlane exposed his person like a private soldier, and underwent fatigues the more extraordinary as he had reached the age

* Briggs's Ferishta. † Price, apparently from Mírkhónd.

of sixty-three. He marched along the foot of the mountains to Jammu (or Jummoo, north of Láhór); then turned to the south, fell into the route by which he first advanced, and quitted India, leaving anarchy, famine, and pestilence behind him.*

A. D. 1399, March; A. H. 801.

We must estimate Tamerlane's character from his actions, and not from the motives assigned to him by panegyrists, nor from maxims drawn up by his orders according to his idea of a perfect government. His own memoirs of his life throw a true light on his character.† They are written in the plain and picturesque style of Túrki autobiography; and if there was a doubt that they were from Tamerlane's dictation, it would be removed by the unconscious simplicity with which he relates his own intrigues and perfidy; taking credit all the time for an excess of goodness and sincerity which the boldest flatterer would not have ventured to ascribe to him. The mixture also of cant and hypocrisy, with real superstition and devotion, could not have been exhibited by any hand but his own; and these traits, with his courage, prudence, and address, his perfect knowledge of mankind, and his boldness in practising on their weakness, make one of the most extraordinary pictures ever presented to the world. The commanding language of barbarous conquerors, contrasted with the

His character.

* About the 10th of March, 1399, A. H. 801. He was now marching on his famous expedition against Bajazet.

† Mulfuzát Timúri, translated by Major Stewart.

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evasions of the princes whom they threaten, leads us to figure them as rude and artless soldiers; but the essential character of Tamerlane was that of a wily politician, and probably it was to similar talents that the other Tartar conquerors owed their ascendancy over so many chiefs, who were their equals in merely military qualities.

There is a resemblance between the histories of Chengíz Khán and Tamerlane; but of those two enemies of mankind, the first was perhaps the most violent, and the second the most perfidious.

Anarchy at Delhi.

For two months after Tamerlane's departure Delhi remained without a government, and almost without inhabitants. A struggle then took place for the possession of it, in which a chief named Ecbál, who had been in power under Mahmúd, was at

A. D. 1400, A. H. 802.

last successful. He failed in various attempts to extend his authority beyond the districts round the capital; and, at last, was killed on a distant expedition towards Multán.

Mahmúd had returned from Guzerát, and for some time lived as a pensioner at Delhi; then at Canouj, a city belonging to the king of Júanpúr, on which Ecbál made several attempts; at last, on that chief's death, he was restored to the possession

A.D. 1405, A.H. 808.

of Delhi. He died there after a nominal reign of

A.D. 1412, A.H. 814.

twenty years, and was succeeded by Doulat Khán Lódi; who, at the end of fifteen months, was

A.D. 1414, A.H. 817.

expelled by Khizr Khán, the governor of the Panjáb.

GOVERNMENT OF THE SEIADS.

Seiad Khizr Khán.

A.D. 1414, A.H. 817.

The new ruler was a Seiad or decendant of the Prophet, but was himself a native of India. He had been governor of one portion of the Panjáb, and being expelled during the confusion of Mahmúd's reign, he appealed to Tamerlane, who gave him the government of the whole. He now affected to recognise that conqueror as emperor, and to govern as his deputy without the title of king or any of the royal honours. Before his accession, (besides the permanent monarchies in the Deckan, together with Guzerát, Málwa, Bengal, and Júanpúr, the last of which comprehended Oud and Canouj,) the governors of Samána, Biána, Calpí (in Bundélcand), and the Panjáb, were all independent, and nothing remained to the ruler of Delhi but the country immediately round that city. The accession of Khizr reannexed for a moment his own government of the Panjáb; but, before long, the eastern portion, with the country about Sirhind, revolted, and established its independence. Khizr nevertheless made some spirited attempts to extend his dominions; he levied tribute from the Ráthórs in Róhilcand, and from other Hindús near Gwáliór. His greatest exertion was a war

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with the king of Guzerát at Nágór, which was pushed by Khizr as far as Jhálór, but ended in nothing.

A.D. 1421, A.H. 824. When Khizr died the inhabitants of Delhi wore black for him for three days: such deep mourning is now confined to Shía courts during the ten days' mourning for the sons of Ali. Even in the case of Khizr it may have been a tribute to his descent from Mahomet.

Seiad Mobárik.

The principal feature in the reign of Seiad Mobárik, son and successor of Seiad Khizr, is a constant struggle in the Panjáb, partly to recover the eastern part, already independent, and partly to keep the rest from the Gakkars, who continually overran it, and who were occasionally supported by the Mogul governor of Cábul on the part of Sháh Rokh Mirza, the son of Tamerlane. The Mogul was repeatedly worsted and expelled, but the Gakkars were not got under during this dynasty.

On one occasion Mobárik marched to Gwáliór to anticipate some design of the king of Málwa,

A.D. 1423, A.H. 827. whom he defeated and obliged to pay a contribution.

A.D. 1426, A.H. 830. At another period he marched a little further to the south-east to encounter the king of Júanpúr, and fought an indecisive battle with him near the Cáli Sind. He also several times received tribute

from the Ráthórs of Róhilcand, and made many attempts to restrain the depredations of the Méwátis. He was at length assassinated by a party of Hindús, at the instigation of his vizír, whom he had partially superseded in his office. A.D. 1435, A.H. 839.

Seiad Mohammed.

The vizír placed the son of the late prince in his father's station, and made two of the Hindú assassins governors of provinces. He himself gained little by his crime. Having incurred the enmity of some of the nobility, they professed to revenge the murder of Seiad Mobárik, besieged the new prince, and forced him to give up his minister. A.D. 1436, A.H. 840.

After this Behlól Khán Lódi, who had some time before obtained possession of the Panjáb, began to push his designs with greater boldness; and while Mohammed was temporising with him he was invaded by the king of Málwa, who advanced with a large army to within two miles of Delhi. Seiad Mohammed in alarm called in the aid of Behlól, who repelled the king of Málwa; and, content with securing his ascendancy, left Seiad Mohammed undisturbed. On a subsequent occasion Behlól besieged Delhi without success, and made no further attempt till the death of Seiad Mohammed. A.D. 1440, A.H. 844.

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Seiad Alá u dín.

A.D. 1444, A.H. 849. His son succeeded. In his time the territory of Delhi was further reduced: in one place it only extended for twelve miles from the capital, and in another scarcely a mile. Seiad Alá u dín, however, still possessed Budáyun beyond the Ganges, 100 miles from Delhi. To this place he removed

A.D. 1450, A.H. 854. his capital; on which Behlól took possession of Delhi, and assumed the title of king.

Alá u dín abdicated in his favour, and was left unmolested in Badáyun till his death, which happened twenty-eight years after his abdication.

HOUSE OF LÓDI.

Behlól Lódi.

The ancestors of Behlól had been enriched by commerce, and his grandfather was governor of Multán under Fírúz Tóghlak, who was the first great patron of the Afgháns. Behlól's father and several of his uncles held commands under the Seiad rulers; and one of them, Islám Khán, was so considerable that he had 12,000 men of his own nation in his pay. The power of the family, together with the calumnies of a disaffected relation, at length excited the jealousy of Seiad Mohammed, and the Lódis were persecuted and driven into the hills. They continued to resist the king's authority, until Behlól had an opportunity of occupying, first, Sirhind, and afterwards the whole of the Panjáb.

Rise of the family of Lódi.

Behlól had been invited to Delhi by Hamíd, the vizír of his predecessor, but finding himself overshadowed by this powerful subject, he seized his person by a stratagem, and after he had broken his influence, allowed him to retire to private life.

Behlól's accession again brought back the Panjáb to Delhi. Multán had become independent during the time of the Seiads, and Behlól had marched against it, when he was recalled by an attack of the king of Júanpúr, who had laid siege

Panjáb re-annexed to Delhi.

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to Delhi. A war now commenced with that prince, which was continued, with short intervals of hollow peace, for twenty-six years, and ended in the conquest of Júanpúr, which was permanently reannexed to Delhi. Behlól survived this long war for ten years, and made other conquests on a smaller scale; so that at his death he left a territory extending from the Jamna to the Hémaláya mountains as far east as Benáres, besides a tract on the west of the Jamna extending to Bundélcand.

A.D. 1452, A.H. 856. Recovery of Júanpúr. A.D. 1478, A.H. 883.

A.D. 1488, A.H. 894.

Secander Lódi.

Secander's accession was disputed by some chiefs on the part of his infant nephew. It was afterwards contested in the field by two of his brothers, one of whom maintained an obstinate struggle. Secander was successful on all these occasions, and treated the inferior rebels with clemency, and his relations with affection. He reannexed Behár as far as the frontiers of Bengal to Delhi, and also extended his territories in the direction of Bundélcand. His internal administration was just and vigorous; and he seems, in all other respects, to have been a mild and excellent prince. But he was one of the few bigots who have sat on the throne of India. He destroyed the temples in towns and forts that he took from Hindús, and he forbade that people performing pilgrimages, and bathing on certain festivals at places on the sacred streams within his own dominions. On one occasion he carried his zeal to cruelty and injustice;

Good administration of Secander. His bigotry.

for, a Bramin having been active in propagating the doctrine that "all religions, if sincerely practised, were equally acceptable to God," he summoned him to defend this opinion in his presence, against twelve Mahometan divines; and, on his refusing to renounce his tolerant maxims, put him to death.*

A holy man of his own religion having remonstrated with him on his prohibition of pilgrimages, Secander drew his sword, exclaiming, "Wretch, do you defend idolatry?" He was appeased by the answer, — "No; but I maintain that kings ought not to persecute their subjects."

When marching against one of his brothers, a Calender addressed him with prayers for his success, on which he said, "Pray for victory to him who will best promote the good of his subjects."

Secander was a poet, and was a great patron of letters. He died at Agra, after a reign of twenty-eight years.

Ibrahím Lódi.

Ibrahím, who succeeded, had none of his father's virtues. He disgusted his tribe by his pride, and alarmed his chiefs by his suspicious and tyrannical temper. From these causes his reign was continually disturbed by rebellions. At the commencement of it one of his brothers was proclaimed

Discontents and rebellions.

* The Bramin was, probably, a disciple of Kabír, a Hindú philosopher, who taught similar doctrines at an earlier period in this century. (See Professor Wilson, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi. p. 55.)

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king at Júanpúr, was subdued in the course of a twelvemonth, and was privately executed by I'brahím, who imprisoned his other brothers for life. A chief named Islám Khán next rebelled, and was killed in battle. Several men of rank and governors of provinces were executed for their share in these transactions. Others were put to death on suspicion; some were secretly made away with after being imprisoned; and one was assassinated at the seat of his government. These proceedings spread general distrust and disaffection; various chiefs revolted, and the whole of the eastern part of I'brahím's dominions threw off its obedience, and formed a separate state under Deria Khán Lohání, whose son afterwards took the title of king. Doulat Khán Lódi, the governor of the Panjáb, dreading the fate of so many other chiefs, revolted, and called in the aid of Báber, who had for some time reigned in Cábul. Báber had before invaded the Panjáb, which he claimed as part of the inheritance of Tamerlane, and he now gladly availed himself of this invitation; but some other Afghán chiefs, either from attachment to I'brahím or aversion to a foreigner, drove out Doulat Khán, and opposed Báber in the field. They were totally defeated near Láhór, and that city was reduced to ashes by the victors. Díbálpúr was next stormed, and the garrison put to the sword; and at this place Báber was joined by Doulat Khán. He had reason, soon after, to suspect the intentions of this person, and threw him and his sons into confinement. Re-

Invasion of Báber.

A.D 1524, A.H. 930.

lenting, subsequently, he released them, treated them honourably, and granted them a jágír. He did not, however, succeed in removing their distrust: by the time he had reached Sirhind on his advance towards Delhi, Doulat Khán and one of his sons revolted and fled to the hills.* Unwilling to leave such dangerous enemies behind him, Báber determined to return to Cábul. He nevertheless kept his hold on the country he had reduced, and left persons on whom he could depend in the principal places. At Díbálpúr he left Alá u dín, a brother of King I'brahím, who seems to have escaped from confinement, and who had joined Báber. Doulat Khán now returned to the Panjáb, and overran great part of it, Alá u dín flying to Cábul; but in the end, Doulat Khán was entirely defeated by one of Báber's generals; and as that monarch himself was engaged in defending Balkh against the Uzbeks, he sent Alá u dín to India, with orders to his own chiefs to assist him. Thus supported, Alá u dín advanced to Delhi, and from the general disaffection his army was soon swelled to 40,000 men. With this force he engaged I'brahím under the walls of Delhi, and was totally defeated. By this time, Báber had settled Balkh, and was advanced as far as Láhór on his way into India. From Láhór he marched into the hills in pursuit of Doulat Khán, who submitted and gave

He retreats from Sirhind.

Return of Báber. December.

* The other son, whose name was Diláwar, adhered to Báber, and had a high place in his confidence. He had the title of Khán Khánán, the second in the court of Delhi, and continued to be a person of great authority in his reign and Humáyun's.

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up his fort*; after which Báber continued his route through the hills to Rópúr on the Satlaj, above Lodiána, and from thence nearly by the direct road to Delhi. At Pánípat he found himself in the neighbourhood of I'brahím, who had come out to meet him at the head of an army amounting, as it was represented to Báber, to 100,000 men, with 1000 elephants. On the approach of this force, Báber took up a position, linked his guns together by ropes of twisted leather, and lined them with infantry, further protected by breast-works. He likewise strengthened his flanks with fieldworks of earth and facines. His army, including followers, amounted to no more than 12,000 men.

Defeat and death of I'brahím. A.D. 1526, April 21.

When I'brahím drew near, he also fortified his position; but had not steadiness enough to adhere to his plan of awaiting an attack, and in a few days led out his army to storm Báber's lines. As soon as he was engaged with the front, Báber ordered his right and left wings to attack the flanks and rear of the enemy. They accordingly advanced and plied them with their arrows; until the Indian troops, after attempting, in a few feeble charges, to drive them off, fell into disorder; when Báber, who had hitherto been annoying them with his cannon, ordered his centre to move forward, and completed the rout of the enemy. I'brahím was killed, and the Indian army, having been nearly surrounded

* His son Gházi Khán fled, and Báber took possession of his library, in which he found a number of valuable books. One would have thought the Korán a sufficient library for an Afghán chief of those days.

during the battle, suffered prodigious loss in the defeat. Báber judged from observation that 15,000 or 16,000 lay dead on the field, of whom 5000 or 6000 lay in one spot around their king. The Indians reported that not less than 40,000 perished in the battle and pursuit.

This action does not give a high idea of the military character of either party. It lasted from soon after sunrise till noon, during which period, Báber observes, with satisfaction, that his guns were discharged *many times* to good purpose. The service of artillery would not in that age have been much better in Europe; but although Báber's plan of harassing the enemy's flanks and rear with arrows seems to be justified by its success, it does not appear remarkable either for skill or spirit, or likely to have been carried on with impunity against an active enemy.

Occupation of Delhi and Agra. May 10.

Delhi was surrendered, and Báber advanced and took possession of Agra, which had lately been the royal residence.

From a list of I'brahím's nobles given by Ferishta, they appear all to have been of the Afghán tribes of Lódi or Lohání, or of that called Fermuli, who were mixed with the Afgháns, like the Khiljis, if indeed they are not a portion of the latter people.

The rája* of Gwáliór, who was reduced to submission during the last reign, accompanied I'brahím's army, and fell along with him in the battle.

* Ibn Batúta, p. 133.

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Báber reviews his own conquest with much complacency, and compares it to those of Sultán Mahmúd and Shaháb u dín: and although we must not confound the acquisition of the few distracted provinces held by Ibrahím with the subjugation of India, yet it must be admitted that his enterprise was as glorious in its achievement as it was memorable in its effects. His force seemed insufficient even to occupy the territory he had to subdue, and it was drawn with difficulty from his own dominions, still threatened by the Uzbeks, whose power the combined force of the whole house of Tamerlane had proved unable to withstand.

Báber's conduct to the places where he met with resistance was as inhuman as that of Tamerlane, who was naturally his model.

The smallness of his force was some justification of the means he took to strike a terror; but the invariable practice of his country is the best palliation for him. His natural disposition was remarkably humane; and although we cannot help being shocked at these occurrences, and at two or three cruel executions mentioned in his Memoirs, yet they prove no more against his personal character in this respect, than his slaughtering Gauls or crucifying pirates against Cæsar's clemency.

Báber was the founder of a line of kings under whom India rose to the highest pitch of prosperity; and out of the ruins of whose empire all the existing states in that country are composed.

BOOK VII.

FROM THE CONQUEST OF BÁBER TO THE ACCESSION OF AKBER.

CHAP. I.

REIGN OF BÁBER.

CHAP. I.

Descent and early life of Báber

THE early life of Báber was a tissue of surprising vicissitudes and romantic adventures.* He was the sixth in descent from Tamerlane. The extensive dominions of his grandfather, Abusaíd, were shared by the numerous sons of that monarch. One of them, Ahmed Mírza, obtained Samarcand and Bokhára; Balkh or Bactria fell to another, Mahmúd Mírza; and Cábul to a third, whose name was Ulugh Bég. O'mar Shékh Mírza, the fourth son, and the father of Báber, had at first been in charge of Cábul; but was transferred during his father's lifetime to Ferghána, on the upper course of the Jaxartes, a small but rich and beautiful country, of which Báber always speaks with fond-

* The account of Báber is taken from his own Memoirs, translated by Mr. Erskine. It differs, in some respects, from that given by Ferishta.

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ness. The mother of Báber was a *Mogul*, the sister of Mahmúd Khán, a descendant of Chaghatái Khán, and head of *his* branch of the empire of Chengíz Khán. This connection does not seem to have inspired any attachment on the part of Báber towards the Mogul nation, of whom he never speaks in his Memoirs but with contempt and aversion.*

His wars and adventures in his youth.

Báber was only twelve years old at the death of his father and his own accession (A. D. 1494). O'mar Shékh Mírza had just been involved in a war with his brother, Ahmed Mírza, of Samarcand, and his brother-in-law, Mahmúd Khán, the Mogul; and those princes showed no disposition to relent in favour of their youthful nephew. They, however, failed entirely in an attack on his capital; and shortly after Ahmed Mírza died. He was succeeded by his brother, the king of Bactria. He also died soon after, and was succeeded by his son, Báisánghar Mírza. Confusions ensued, and Báber was induced to attempt the conquest of Samarcand for himself. Though he had for some time conducted his own government, he was as yet only fifteen; and considering that circumstance, together with the insignificance of his means, it is much less

* "Under these circumstances," observes Mr. Erskine, "it may seem one of the strangest caprices of fortune, that the empire which he founded in India should have been called, both in the country and by foreigners, the empire of the Moguls; thus taking its name from a race which he detested." (*Erskine's Baber*, p. 236.) The reason is, that the Indians call all northern Mussulmans, except the Afgháns, Moguls: they now apply the term particularly to the Persians.

surprising that he more than once failed in this undertaking, than that his spirit and perseverance were at last rewarded with success (A. D. 1497).

The possession of the capital of Tamerlane, which seemed a step to the sovereignty of all Transoxiana, proved in itself to be more than Báber had strength to maintain. The country of Samarcand was exhausted by long disorders, and afforded no means of paying his troops, who, in consequence, began to desert in great numbers. They spread their discontent among those left in Ferghána, and at last openly revolted, under Ahmed Tambol, one of Báber's principal leaders, in the name of his younger brother, Jehángír Mírza. Such a rebellion at home allowed no time for delay, and Báber left Samarcand, after a reign of a hundred days: on his departure the inhabitants immediately threw off their obedience to him. An unfortunate illness, which he with difficulty survived, so retarded his operations, that, by the time he had abandoned Samarcand, he found he had lost his hereditary dominions. On this he had recourse to his Mogul uncle, and sometimes with slender aid from him, but oftener with his own resources alone, he made various attempts, not without partial success, both on Samarcand and Ferghána. At length, in 1499, he succeeded in recovering his native kingdom; but he had not entirely subdued the rebels when he was tempted by strong invitations from Samarcand to set out for that capital. Before he reached his destination, he learned that both Samarcand

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and Bokhára were occupied by the Uzbeks, then founding the dominion which they still possess over Transoxiana.*

Meanwhile Tambol had again seized on Ferghána, and Báber was compelled to take refuge in the almost inaccessible mountains to the south of that country. While there, he learned that Sheibáni Khán, the chief of the Uzbeks, had left Samarcand on an expedition; and with characteristic spirit of enterprise he determined to avail himself of the opportunity to attempt to surprise that city. He set off with only 240 men; escaladed the walls in the night; overpowered the guards, and magnified the impression of his numbers by boldness and rapidity, until the citizens rose in his favour, and massacred the Uzbeks wherever they were to be found. Sheibáni Khán hastened back on this intelligence, but found the gates shut against him, and ultimately withdrew to Bokhára.

The whole of Sogdiana now declared for Báber. He remained for six months in quiet possession, and employed the interval in endeavours to form a combination among the neighbouring princes, by impressing them with a sense of their danger from the Uzbeks. His exertions were fruitless; and he was obliged to encounter alone the whole power of

* The Uzbeks (so called from one of their kháns) were a mass of tribes of Túrkí, Mogúl, and probably of Fennic origin, moulded into one people, but with a great preponderance of Túrks. They had before been settled on the Jaik, and had been in possession of a large tract in Siberia. (*Erskine's Baber*, Introduction, pp. lix. lx.)

Sheibáni. The hopes of success, which even then he continued to cherish, were frustrated by the baseness of some Mogul auxiliaries, who left the battle for the purpose of plundering his baggage. The consequence was a total defeat; and Báber was obliged to retire with the few troops that adhered to him within the walls of Samarcand. He resolved to defend that place to the last extremity, and repelled various assaults that were made on him by the Uzbeks. Sheibáni had then recourse to a blockade, and in four months reduced his enemies to all the miseries of famine. The inhabitants perished in great numbers; the soldiers let themselves down from the walls and deserted; and Báber, who had shared in all the privations of the people, was compelled at last to evacuate the town. CHAP. I.

After this he spent nearly two years in the utmost poverty and distress, sometimes in the mountains, and oftener in his uncle's camp, where he remained in such a state of destitution that his very servants left him from absolute want. He seems to have been almost reduced to despondency by his repeated misfortunes, and once resolved to withdraw to China, and pass his life in obscurity and retirement. Occasional openings in Ferghána served to keep alive his hopes; and at length, with the help of his uncle, he recovered the capital, and was joined by his brother Jehángír, who had hitherto been his nominal rival. Tambol, in this strait, called in the formidable aid of the Uzbeks. Báber was overpowered, compelled to fly after a desperate

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conflict in the streets, and so hotly pursued that his companions, one by one, fell into the hands of the enemy, and his own horse was so much exhausted that he was overtaken by two of Tambol's soldiers. They endeavoured to persuade him to surrender; and Báber, while he kept up the parley, continued to push on towards the mountains. At length he thought he had succeeded, by arguments and entreaties, in bringing over the pursuers to his interest, and they took a solemn oath to share his fortunes; but, whether they were originally insincere, or lost heart when they contemplated the prospect before them, they ended by betraying Báber to his enemies; and it was with the utmost difficulty that he again recovered his freedom. He only escaped to a condition almost as hopeless as captivity. His uncle's Mogul army had been defeated by Sheibáni, and himself made prisoner; while the whole of Transoxiana, except that annexed to Bactria, fell into the hands of the Uzbeks.

He is driven out of Transoxiana.

All his prospects being thus extinguished, Báber bade a last farewell to his native country of Ferghána, and set out to try his fortune in new scenes beyond the range of Hindú Cush.

After all that he had done and suffered (enough to fill up an eventful life) Báber was yet only in his twenty-third year. He bore his numerous reverses with the elasticity of youth. He himself tells us that he often shed many tears, and composed many melancholy verses; but in general his cheerful temper buoyed him up, and enabled him

to enjoy the present and to entertain favourable prospects of the future. He says he never had more perfect pleasure than for a few days after he evacuated Samarcand, when he first got a full meal, a quiet night's rest, and a temporary freedom from labour and anxiety. He had often similar moments of enjoyment, thanks to his sociable habits and his relish for simple pleasures. He pauses, in relating one of his desperate expeditions, to describe a particular sort of melon with which he had been struck: if ever he had an interval of rest he was occupied with plants and gardening; and during all his marches, in peace or war, flowers and trees and cheerful landscapes were never thrown away on him. It may be because others have not opened their hearts as he has done, but there certainly is no person in Asiatic history into whose tastes and feelings we can enter as into Báber's.

Bactria was now in the hands of Khusru Sháh, a favourite of Báber's late uncle, and afterwards minister to his cousin, Báisanghar Mírza, the same whom he had driven out of Samarcand. Khusru Sháh had since murdered his master, and was in possession of what remained of his dominions. He endeavoured to conciliate Báber, and received him with a show of hospitality when he entered his territory. His professions arose from a sense of his own insecurity: it was not long ere all the Moguls in his employment proffered their services to Báber; and, before they had openly declared themselves, Khusru's own brother,

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Báki, came over to the same side, and was followed by the whole of the army. When Báber approached Khusru's frontier he had between two and three hundred followers, many of them armed with clubs; and only two tents, the best of which was allotted to his mother. He now set out to invade Cábul at the head of a regular and well-equipped army. His uncle, Ulugh Bég, the king of that country, had expired two years before; his son and successor had been expelled by his minister; and *he*, in his turn, had been dispossessed by the Mogul or Túrki family of Arghún, who had been for some time in possession of Candahár. Báber occupied Cábul almost without opposition (A. D. 1504); and, regarding the original owner as completely ejected, he took possession in his own name, and subsequently resisted an attempt of his cousin to regain his inheritance. He afterwards lost Bactria; which was recovered by Khusru Sháh, and ultimately conquered by the Uzbeks. Baber's connection with the country beyond the mountains was therefore entirely cut off. He was now king of Cábul, over which country he reigned for twenty-two years, before his conquest of India: and which was enjoyed by his descendants till the end of the seventeenth century.

Acquires the kingdom of Cábul.

But though Báber had gained a fixed establishment, he was by no means in a state of repose. He had, in fact, only changed the character of his toils and perils. He was still threatened from without by an enemy who had hitherto proved

irresistible; and within, a great part of his territory was in the hands of independent tribes, and so strong that he could not hope to subdue it; while part of the rest was possessed by personal enemies and rivals. His title was doubtful; he had no minister whom he could trust; his brother Jehángír had but lately joined him after having been long in rebellion; and his army was an assemblage of adventurers, strangers to him and traitors to their former masters. CHAP. I.

His first years were spent in the conquest of Candahár, in expeditions into the mountains of the Afgháns and Hazárehs, and in a dangerous journey to Herát to concert measures with that branch of the house of Tamerlane for their common defence against the Uzbeks. On these occasions he underwent the usual risks and more than the usual hardships of war, and had once nearly perished in the snow during a winter march through the mountains of the Hazárehs.

In this period his brother Jehángír revolted (A. D. 1506); but was subdued and pardoned: a more serious insurrection took place while he was at Herát, when his Mogul troops set up one of his cousins as king, who was also defeated and pardoned (A. D. 1507); and he was afterwards brought to the brink of ruin by a conspiracy of the Moguls, who had come over from Khusru Sháh. These men, from two to three thousand in number, gave the first sign of their disaffection by an attempt to seize Báber's person; and when he had escaped

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and fled from Cábul, they called in Abdu Rizák, the son of Ulugh Bég, whom Báber had supplanted in the government (A. D. 1508). The right of this young man had probably little influence; for all the princes of the house of Tamerlane seemed to consider that conqueror's dominions as a common prize, from which each might take what share he could: his strength lay in the connections he possessed in a country where his father had reigned; and those were so powerful that Báber found himself deserted by the whole of his troops except about 500 men. A moment's despondency, at this crisis, would have been fatal; but Báber made up for his small force by the boldness and activity of his enterprises: he led his troops to repeated encounters, exposed himself in the hottest of every engagement, and, almost entirely by his personal courage and exertions, at last retrieved his affairs.*

His most important wars were with his old enemies the Uzbeks. Sheibáni Khán, after the conquest of Transoxiana, invaded Khorásán, took Herat, and extinguished the principal branch of the house of Tamerlane. He then advanced to Candahár and took the city. He was drawn off by distant troubles before he had reduced the citadel; but left it so weakened that it fell into the hands of its old possessors the Arghúns, who had remained

* Mr. Erskine, from Kháfi Khán and Ferishta. Báber's Memoirs break off in the beginning of the insurrection, and are not resumed for some years. The intervening portion seems never to have been written. (*Erskine's Baber*, p. 236.)

CHAP. I.

in the neighbourhood, and who now retained it for several years (from A. D. 1507 to 1522). What might have been Báber's fortune if the Uzbeks had continued their progress, it is not easy to surmise. It is possible he might have shared the fate of so many princes of his family, had not Sheibáni Khán encountered a new enemy whose success put a stop to the career of Tartar conquest. This was Sháh Ismáel Saffavi, king of Persia, with whom Sheibáni went to war about this time, and by whom he was totally defeated and slain (A. D. 1510).

His death opened a new field to Baber, or rather recalled him to that which had been the scene of his earliest exploits. He immediately occupied Bactria, made an alliance with Sháh Ismael, and, with the aid of a Persian force, took Bokhára, and again obtained possession of Samarcand (A. D. 1511).

But he was destined never to be long successful in Transoxiana: before the end of a twelvemonth he was driven out of Samarcand by the Uzbeks; and, although he maintained the contest, with the support of the Persians, for two years longer, yet he at last suffered a total defeat, and lost all his acquisitions except Bactria (A. D. 1514).

His views on India.

It was after this failure that he turned his serious attention to India, and began those enterprises, the result of which has already been related.

A. D. 1526, A. H. 933. Báber's proceedings after his

After the taking of Agra, Báber's first act was to distribute the captured treasures to his adherents. He gave his son Humáyun a diamond,

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which was esteemed one of the finest in the world; and he sent a present of a sháhrukhi each to every man, woman, and child, slave or free, in the country of Cábul.*

victory over I'brahím.

But, although in possession of the capital, Báber was far from having conquered the kingdom. He only occupied the part to the north-west of Delhi, with a narrow tract along the Jamna to Agra. The whole of the country to the east of the Ganges had become independent in I'brahím's time under Deria Khán Lohání. His son took the title of king by the name of Mohammed Sháh Lohání, and seems to have possessed Behár on both sides of the Ganges. Many places on the west of the Jamna had also been in rebellion in I'brahím's time, and many of those which had been obedient now held out under the Afghán and Fermuli chiefs belonging to the late government. Nor was this the only opposition with which Báber had to contend: a strong dislike and hostility at first subsisted between his troops and the Indians, the villages round his camp were deserted, and it became a matter of great difficulty to procure grain or forage for the army. In addition to this, the summer, always nearly intolerable to natives of cold countries, was

Discontent of his troops.

* The sháhrukhi is only 10*d.* or 11*d.*; but the whole sum must have been very great; and this injudicious expenditure justifies the nickname of "the Calender" given to him at the time, from a religious order, whose practice it is to keep nothing for to-morrow. He could not always have been so profuse, though always generous; for after he once got Cábul, we hear of no financial embarrassments.

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in that year unusually oppressive, and so affected the troops that all ranks began to murmur, and at length to clamour to be led back to Cábul: some even made preparations for returning without leave. On this, Baber assembled the officers, and pointed out to them that, as the conquest of India had long been the great object of their labours, it would be weakness and disgrace to abandon it now that it was achieved; that *he*, therefore, was determined to remain in India; that all who chose to return were at liberty to do so at once; but that henceforth he would hear of no remonstrances against his resolution. This address induced the greater part to give up their discontents. Khája Kilán, however, one of his best and most confidential chiefs, was among those that decided to return, and was accordingly appointed to a government beyond the Indus, and dismissed with honour to his new charge.

The determination so strongly expressed had an effect even on the enemy; and many, who had hitherto expected Báber to withdraw as Tamerlane had done, now made their submission: detachments were sent to reduce others; and, in the course of the next four months, not only had the country held by Sultán Ibrahím been secured, but all the revolted provinces ever possessed by the house of Lódi, including the former kingdom of Júanpúr, were brought into subjection by an army under Prince Humáyun, Báber's eldest son. A. D. 1526, July to Oct. A. H. 932.

The last places which submitted were Biána,

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Dhulpúr on the Chambal, and Gwáliór beyond that river.

His war with Sanga, rána of Méwár.

After he had thus been acknowledged by all the Mussulmans, Báber had to commence a war with the Hindús, who, contrary to their usual practice, were on this occasion the aggressors.

Hamír Sing, the Rájpút prince who recovered Chitór in the reign of Alá u dín Khilji (A. D. 1316), had, in the course of a long reign, re-established the Rájpút dominion over all Méwár; to which his son had added Ajmír.* After the separation of Málwa from Delhi the new kings of that country were engaged in frequent hostilities with the rájas of Méwár; and, immediately before the time of Báber, Mahmúd, king of Málwa, had been defeated and taken prisoner by Sanga, the Rájpút prince† (A. D. 1519).

Sanga, the sixth in succession from Hamír, possessed all the hereditary dominions of Méwar, and likewise held the eastern part of Málwa as far as Bilsa and Chándéri‡, in dependence. He was recognised as their leader by the rájas of Márwár and Jeipúr, and all the other Rájpút princes.§

Being a natural enemy to the king of Delhi, he had opened a friendly communication with Báber while he was advancing against I'brahím, and for the same reason he began to form combinations against him as soon as he found him established in

* Colonel Tod's Rajputana, vol. i. p. 274.

† Briggs's Ferishta, vol. iv. p. 261.

‡ Báber's Memoirs, p. 312. § Colonel Tod, vol. i. p. 299.

the former position of that prince. Besides his Hindú allies, Sanga was on this occasion accompanied by Mahmúd, a prince of the house of Lódi, who had assumed the title of king, and, though possessed of no territory, was followed by 10,000 adherents. The Lódi chiefs formerly driven out by Humáyun also returned to their former possessions, or raised men in other places to co-operate with the rája. Great efforts were made on both sides to secure the alliance of Hasan Khán, rája of Méwát, who, by his name, must have been a converted Hindú. His territory is that hilly tract extending towards the river Chambal, from within twenty-five miles of Delhi, and including the petty state which is now called Máchéri or Alwar.

The son of this chief being a hostage in Báber's hands, he adopted the liberal policy of sending him to his father as the true way to gain his sincere co-operation. His generosity did not make the desired impression; for Hasan Khán was no sooner set at ease about his son than he openly joined the enemy. Rája Sanga immediately advanced to support his ally, and soon arrived at Biána, within fifty miles of Agra. He drove the garrison of that place, with loss, into their fort, and cut off all communication between them and the capital. Báber, on this, sent forward a detachment to observe the enemy, and soon after moved out with all his forces. He had reached Síkrí*, about twenty miles

* Now Fattehpúr Síkrí.

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from Agra, when he found himself in the neighbourhood of the Hindú army. His advanced guard was immediately attacked; and, though reinforced from the main body, was defeated with heavy loss. If the rája had pressed on during the first panic, it is probable he would have obtained an easy victory: he chose to withdraw to his encampment after his success, and thus allowed Báber ample time to take up a position and to fortify his camp, so as to make it a difficult matter to assail him.

February 18 or 19.

Báber's troops had looked on this contest in a very serious light from the first; and the reports of fugitives, together with the disaster which had taken place almost before their eyes, had made a very deep impression on them; when, by ill luck, a celebrated astrologer arrived from Cábul, and loudly announced, from the aspect of Mars, the certain defeat of the king's army, which happened to be in the quarter opposite to that planet. The consternation occasioned by these real and imaginary terrors was so general that even the officers of the highest rank were infected, lost all courage and decision in council, and could scarcely even maintain an appearance of firmness before their men. Báber's Indian troops began to desert; some of them went over to the enemy; and the rest of the army, though faithful, was completely dispirited and alarmed. Báber himself, though he despised the prediction of the astrologer, was not insensible to the dangers of his situation: he tells us that he repented of his sins, forswore wine, and gave away

his gold and silver drinking vessels to the poor: he also made a vow to let his beard grow, and promised to remit the stamp tax on all Mussulmans, if it should please God to give him victory. But he was too much used to danger to be depressed; and that he might infuse some of his own spirit into his troops, he assembled his officers of all ranks, and, without touching on the usual topics of necessity, or of spoil and conquests, — scarcely even on that of religion, — he made a direct appeal to their sense of honour, and set the chance of glory against the risk of death. His theme seems to have been well chosen, for the whole assembly answered him with one voice, and accompanied their acclamations with an oath on the Koran to conquer or die. This scene revived the courage of the army; and, as every day brought in accounts of some fresh disorder in the provinces, Báber determined no longer to avoid an action, but to bring things to an immediate crisis. With this view, he drew up his army in front of his intrenchments, and, after arranging his guns, and making his other preparations, he gallopped along the line from right to left, animating his soldiers by short addresses, and instructing the officers how to conduct themselves in the battle. The Hindús, it appears, were equally ready for a decisive effort; but so anxious is Báber to do justice to the great occasion, that, instead of his own account of the action, he gives us the elaborate despatch of his secretary, from which we can barely discover, in many pages of

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Battle of Síkrí; victory of Báber.

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flowery declamation, that Báber gained a great victory, that Rája Sanga escaped with difficulty, and that Hasan Khán and many other chiefs were slain. Báber (to return to his own narrative) could now relieve his heart by a torrent of abuse against the astrologer, who came to congratulate him on his victory, and whom he inveighed against as a perverse, conceited, and insufferable evil-speaker: he was an old servant, however, and Báber made him a liberal present, while he desired him to quit his dominions.

A. D. 1527, March 16.; A. H. 933, Jamádi u Sáni 13.

Settlement of the country.

After this victory, Báber proceeded to reduce Méwát, and brought it into greater order than it ever had been in under the former government. Having promised, before the great battle, that he would allow any one who pleased leave of absence to Cábul, he formed all who desired to avail themselves of that permission into a detachment, and sent them back under the command of Humáyun.

He spent the next six months in internal arrangements, and restoring order throughout the provinces that had been disturbed during the doubtful period of his contest with Rája Sanga; and by the end of the year his authority was everywhere re-established, except in Oud, beyond the Ganges. A body of Afgháns still remained in arms in that province, and a detachment had been sent against them.

A. D. 1528, A. H. 934. Siege of Chándéri.

About the beginning of the next year, Báber marched against Chándéri, on the borders of Bundélcand and Málwa. It was held by Médni Rái,

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a Rájpút chief who had risen to great power under Mahmúd II., king of Málwa. He had afterwards usurped the government; and, on being expelled by Mahmúd with the aid of the king of Guzerát, established himself at Chándéri, under the protection of Rája Sanga. He had made good his retreat after the late battle, and now offered a desperate resistance. But the Rájpúts, as usual, showed more valour than skill or perseverance. On the second day of the siege they gave up all for lost, and Báber witnessed one of those extraordinary instances of self-devotion which are so common in Rájpút history. His troops had already mounted the works, when the garrison put their women to death, and rushed forth naked, not to conquer, but to die. They drove the Mussulmans before them, leaped from the ramparts, and continued their charge with unabated fury until they were overpowered and destroyed: 200 or 300 had remained to defend Médni Rái's house, most of whom slew each other, each contending who should be the first victim. A. D. 1528, Jan. 20.

Afghán insurrection.

During the siege of Chándéri, Báber received intelligence of the defeat of his detachment in Oud by an Afghán chief named Bában, or Bibán, and immediately marched, himself, in that direction. The Afgháns having taken post at the passage of the Ganges, Báber threw a bridge over the river, under the fire of his artillery, and ultimately compelled the enemy to retire beyond the Gógra, whither he marched in pursuit of them. He seems

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to have compelled the rebels to take refuge in the territories of the king of Bengal, and it was probably on this occasion that he reduced Behár; if that was not done before by Humáyun: but in this place there is an interruption in the Memoirs, which is not filled up by any other historian.

For some months after this, Báber seems to have been in bad health, and to have indulged in a longer course of relaxation than often fell to his lot. His Memoirs (which are now resumed) are filled with descriptions of Hindú forts and temples, and of fountains and cascades that he had visited; as well as of his own gardens and improvements, and of the jugglers, wrestlers, and other sources of amusement peculiar to India.

Even during this period he made the important acquisition of the fort of Rintambór: it was made over to him by the second son of Rája Sanga, that prince having died, and having been succeeded by the eldest son.

His attention was at last effectually roused by the intelligence that the province of Behár had been seized on by Sultán Mahmúd, the same Lódi prince who had been present at the defeat of Rája Sánga. Mahmúd seems to have been supported from Bengal; and being joined by the Afgháns in Behár and the adjoining provinces, his army soon swelled to such an extent as to be called 100,000 men. With this force he had advanced to Benáres, by the time when Báber reached the junction of the Jamna and Ganges, now Allahabad.

The approach of Báber, however, dissolved this hasty assemblage, which was already a prey to dissension. They had attempted to storm the hill fort of Chunár; and a repulse they met with, though not in itself considerable, was sufficient, in the present state of their minds, to break up the army. Mahmúd retreated with such portion as he could keep together. He took up a position behind the river Són (Soane); and many of the chiefs who had quitted him made their submission to Báber. Báber continued his advance; and Mahmúd, finding it in vain to oppose him, sought for safety in flight.

Defeat of the king of Bengal.

All Behár south of the Ganges was now in Báber's hands; North Behár was still in possession of the king of Bengal, who had a considerable army on foot in that quarter. His object appears to have been to have retained that portion of the Delhi territories without quarrelling with the possessor of the rest; and he kept an ambassador in Báber's camp, to amuse him with negotiations, until Báber lost patience, crossed the Ganges, and advanced against the Bengalese army.

He had still to pass the river Gógra, on which the enemy were encamped, near its junction with the Ganges. He was, however, well provided with boats, and drove away those of the Bengalese, which might otherwise have obstructed his passage. The Bengalese then moved down to oppose his crossing, and a cannonade was kept up on both sides. As Báber's divisions landed in succession,

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they charged the different parties opposed to them, and at last drove the enemy from the field. Soon after this the king of Bengal consented to terms of peace. Báber was preparing to return to Agra, when he heard that a body of Afgháns, who had separated from the Bengal army, under Bában and another chief, named Báyazíd, had crossed the Gógra, and taken Luknow. He immediately marched in that direction; and, on the retreat of the Afgháns, sent a detachment in pursuit of them. It followed them across the Ganges and Jamna, and had completely dispersed them in Bundélcand, when the setting in of the rainy season put an end to all operations.

Sickness of Báber.

For the last fifteen months of his life Báber's health seems to have been greatly broken: the silence of his diary gives a proof of his diminished activity, and some circumstances lead to a belief that his authority began to be weakened by the prospect of its speedy cessation. Humáyun left his government of Badakhshán without leave, and Khalífa, Báber's prime minister, on being selected to replace him, found means to excuse himself, and remain at court. Notwithstanding Humáyun's unlooked for return, he was affectionately received; and a dangerous illness, with which he was soon after attacked, was the immediate cause of the death of Báber.

When it was announced to him that the physicians had given over all their efforts, declaring that medicine could no longer avail, Báber seized

on the only hope that remained, and, in conformity with a superstition which still prevails in the East, he determined to devote his own life for that of his son. His friends, who had as little doubt of the efficacy of this substitution as he had himself, entreated him to forbear from a sacrifice involving the happiness of so many; but Báber's resolution was unmoved. He walked three times round the bed of the dying prince (a solemnity usual on such occasions), and then spent some moments in earnest prayer to God; at the end of which, he was filled with such assurance, that he more than once exclaimed, "I have borne it away — I have borne it away!" and so powerful was the impression both on his mind and his son's, that all the historians agree that Humáyun began from that time to recover, while it is certain that Báber, who was already ill, and whose health must have been severely shaken by his anxiety and agitation, began visibly to decline. It soon became evident that his end was approaching. He called his sons and ministers about him; explained his dying wishes, and enjoined concord among all, and affection among his children. But Khalífa, his minister, whose influence, for some unexplained reason, was, at that time, irresistible, had already resolved to overturn the dearest of his plans. Desirous of keeping power in his own hands, he determined to set aside Báber's own sons, and to give the crown to his son-in-law, Mehdi Khája, a young man whose thoughtless and flighty disposition made it

Intrigues regarding the succession.

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seem easy to keep him in perpetual dependence.* Mehdi Khája was at no pains to undeceive him in these expectations, and was now considered by himself and others as assured of the succession the moment that Báber should breathe his last. As that moment approached, however, he was suddenly seized by Khalífa, put into confinement, and cut off from all communication with those around. The cause of this revolution is explained in a narrative referred to by Mr. Erskine, which is given on the authority of Mohammed Mokím, the father of the author. Khalífa, it seems, was on a visit to Mehdi Khája, with no person present but Mokím: he was suddenly summoned to Báber, who lay at the last extremity. Mehdi Khája attended him with great respect to the door, and stood looking after him, so that Mokím could not follow without pushing by him. "As soon as Khalífa was fairly gone, he muttered to himself, 'God willing, I will soon flay your hide off, old boy;' and, turning round at the same instant, saw my father. He was quite confounded; but, immediately seizing my father's ear, with a convulsive eagerness, twisted it round, and said, hurriedly, 'You Tájik! the red tongue often gives the green head to the winds.'" Mokím lost no time in apprising Khalífa of what

* Khalífa was one of Báber's old officers; but it is not easy to conjecture how he could acquire so inordinate a power under so able a sovereign as Báber, and with an experienced heir apparent like Humáyun. Equally extraordinary does it seem that, from this time forward, he disappears, and is not mentioned in Ferishta or Abul Fazl, either under his own name of Khalífa, or his title of Nizám u dín.

had passed; and the result was, his immediately transferring his allegiance to Humáyun.

Death of Báber.

In the midst of these intrigues, with which he was, probably, unacquainted, Báber expired, the most admirable, though not the most powerful, prince that ever reigned in Asia. He died, at Agra, in the fiftieth year of his age, and the thirty-eighth of his reign. His body was buried, by his own desire, at Cábul, and on a spot which it is probable that he had himself selected.*

A. D. 1530, Dec. 26.; A. H. 937.

His character.

Baber's character is best shown in his actions; but something remains to be said of his private life and his writings. His Memoirs are almost singular in their own nature, and perfectly so if we consider the circumstances of the writer. They contain a minute account of the life of a great Tartar monarch, along with a natural effusion of his opinions and feelings, free from disguise and reserve, and no less free from all affectation of extreme frankness and candour.†

* "He had directed his body to be interred in this place, to him the choicest in his wide dominions." . . . "A running and clear stream yet waters the fragrant flowers of the cemetery, which is the great holiday resort of the people of Cábul. In the front of the grave is a small but chaste mosque of white marble." . . . "There is a noble prospect from the hill that overlooks Báber's tomb," &c. &c. (*Burnes's Travels*, vol. i. p. 141.)

† In this last respect, they are a contrast to those of Tamerlane, which, with all their simplicity of language, are evidently written for effect. "One day, having unintentionally trodden on an ant, I felt as if my foot had lost all its power." (*Memoirs of Teimur*, p. 30.) Who can imagine this to be natural, even if the author had been a Bramin ascetic, instead of the most sanguinary of conquerors?

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The style is plain and manly, as well as lively and picturesque; and being the work of a man of genius and observation, it presents his countrymen and contemporaries, in their appearance, manners, pursuits, and actions, as clearly as in a mirror. In this respect it is almost the only specimen of real history in Asia; for the ordinary writers, though they give pompous accounts of the deeds and ceremonies of the great, are apt to omit the lives and manners even of that class; while every thing beneath their level is left entirely out of sight. In Báber, the figures, dress, tastes, and habits of each individual introduced are described with such minuteness and reality, that we seem to live among them, and to know their persons as well as we do their characters.* His description of the countries he visited, their scenery, climate, productions, and works of art and industry, are more full and accurate than will, perhaps, be found, in equal space, in any modern traveller; and, considering the circumstances in which they were compiled, are truly surprising.†

* These portraits, however, are necessarily confined to the inhabitants of the courts and camps where Báber passed his days: in the countries which he has so well delineated, he only gives such remarkable particulars about the natives as would strike a stranger, without attempting a detailed account of their way of life, with which he must necessarily have been unacquainted.

† Compare his descriptions of the countries through which he fought his way with those of Ibn Batúta, himself a writer of remarkable merit, and a professed traveller and inquirer. Or compare his geography with that of any Asiatic who has written expressly on the science.

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But the great charm of the work is in the character of the author, whom we find, after all the trials of a long life, retaining the same kind and affectionate heart, and the same easy and sociable temper, with which he set out on his career, and in whom the possession of power and grandeur had neither blunted the delicacy of his taste nor diminished his sensibility to the enjoyments of nature and imagination.

"It is a relief," says his translator, "in the midst of the pompous coldness of Asiatic history, to find a king who can weep for days, and tell us that he wept for the playmate of his boyhood." He speaks with as much interest of his mother and female relations as if he had never quitted their fireside; and his friends make almost as great a figure in the personal part of his narrative as he does himself. He repeats their sayings, records their accidents and illnesses, relates their adventures, and sometimes jokes on their eccentricities.

After a letter, on the affairs of his government, to his most confidential counsellor, Khája Kilán (then at Cábul), he tells him little anecdotes of their common acquaintances, which he thinks will amuse him, and adds, "For God's sake excuse all these fooleries, and do not think the worse of me for them." He endeavours afterwards to persuade Khája Kilán to leave off wine, as he had done; and says, in substance, "Drinking was a very pleasant thing with our old friends and companions; but now that you have only Shír Ahmed and

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Heider Kúli to take your wine with, it can be no great sacrifice to leave it off." In the same letter, he says how much he envies his friend his residence at Cábul, and adds, "They, very recently, brought me a single musk melon*: while cutting it up, I felt myself affected with a strong feeling of loneliness, and a sense of my exile from my native country, and I could not help shedding tears while I was eating it."

It would have been fortunate if Báber had left off wine sooner, for there seems good reason to think his indulgence in it tended to shorten his days. Many a drinking party is recorded in his Memoirs, with at least as much interest as his battles or negotiations; and, unsuitable as they are to his station, they are not the least agreeable scenes in Báber's history. The perfect ease and familiarity among the company makes one forget the prince in the man; and the temptations that generally lead to those excesses — a shady wood, a hill with a fine prospect, or the idleness of a boat floating down a river; together with the amusements with which they are accompanied, extemporary verses, recitations in Túrki and Persian, with sometimes a song, and often a contest of repartee — take away all the coarseness that might attach to such scenes of dissipation.

The unsettled nature of his life is shown by his observing, near the end of it, that since he was eleven years old he had never kept the fast of the

* This fruit had not then been introduced into India.

Rámzán twice in any one place; and the time not spent in war and travelling was occupied in hunting and other sports, or in long excursions on horseback about the country. On his last journey, after his health had begun to fail, he rode, in two days, from Calpí to Agra (160 miles), without any particular motive for dispatch; and on the same journey he swam twice across the Ganges, as he said he had done with every other river he had met with. His mind was as active as his body: besides the business of the kingdom, he was constantly taken up with aqueducts, reservoirs, and other improvements, as well as introducing new fruits and other productions of remote countries. Yet he found time to compose many elegant Persian poems and a collection of Túrki compositions, which are mentioned as giving him a high rank among the poets of his own country.*

* Almost all that has been said of Báber has been drawn from Mr. Erskine's admirable translation of his Memoirs from the Túrki. The notes and supplements which accompany that work remove the obscurities which, without such assistance, would beset us in every page; and the preliminary dissertation gives a complete view of the state of Asia in Báber's time, and contains the best account of the geography of the countries which were the scene of his exploits, and the clearest exposition of the divisions of the Tartar nations. The translation seems to have imbibed the very spirit of the original. The style is singularly happy, strikingly characteristic, though perfectly natural, and equally remote from the usual inflated language of the East, and from the imitation of scriptural simplicity into which other translators of similar works have fallen.

CHAP. II.

FIRST REIGN OF HUMÁYUN.

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BÁBER left three sons besides Humáyun; Cámrán, Hindál, and Mírza Askari.*

* The narrative of the reign of Humáyun (where not otherwise specified) is taken from Ferishta, the Memoirs of Humáyun, and Abul Fazl. Ferishta is peculiarly defective at this period, which was too remote to admit of his conversing with eye-witnesses, and too recent to allow him to benefit by written histories.

The Memoirs are written by a person named Jouher, who was a menial servant of Humáyun, and whose duty it was to carry an ewer for his master to wash his hands. He was in constant attendance on Humáyun, and although unacquainted with his political relations and secret designs, was a minute and correct observer of all that came within his reach, and describes what he saw with simplicity and distinctness. He was devoted to Humáyun, and anxious to put all his actions in the most favourable light; but he seldom imagined that any thing in his master's conduct required either concealment or apology. Abul Fazl was the well-known minister and favourite of Akber, and was a man of enlarged views and extraordinary talents; but he was a professed rhetorician, and is still the model of the unnatural style which is so much admired in India; he was, besides, a most assiduous courtier, eager to extol the virtues, to gloss over the crimes, and to preserve the dignity of his master and those in whom he was interested. His dates and his general statement of events are valuable; but he requires constant attention, not so much to guard against his barefaced partiality, as against the prejudice which he draws on his favourites by his fawning and fulsome commendations of them, and against the suspicions which he excites by his dishonest way of telling a story, even in cases where the action related was innocent or

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Cámrán was governor of Cábul and Candahár, and the other two were unemployed in India. From his having assigned no shares to his younger children, it is probable that Báber did not intend to divide the empire; but Cámrán showed no disposition to give way to his brother; and as he was in possession of a strong and warlike country among the hereditary subjects of his family, he had a great advantage over Humáyun, who could not assemble an army without evacuating his new and disaffected provinces.

Arrangements of the king's brother.

In these circumstances, Humáyun thought it prudent to yield with a good grace, and gave up the Panjáb and the country on the Indus, in addition to Cámrán's former territories. At the same time he gave the government of Sambal to Hindál, and that of Méwát to Mírza Askari. By the cession to Cámrán, Humáyun was left to govern a new conquest, while he was deprived of the resources by which it had been gained, and by which it might have been retained; but as he still possessed Báber's veteran army, and profited by the impression of his power, the effects of the dismemberment did not at first appear.

Separation of Cábul from India.

Humáyun was engaged in the siege of Cálanjer,

Afghán insurrections in India.

excusable. His narrative is florid, feeble, and indistinct; overloaded with commonplace reflections and pious effusions, generally ending in a compliment to his patron. In this part of his writings I have generally availed myself of Major Price's History, which, though it does not profess to be a translation, is often a literal version, and always a full and faithful abstract of the original.

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in Búndélcand, when he received intelligence that Bában and Báyazíd, the Afghán chiefs, whose party was formerly broken up by Báber, were again in rebellion in Júanpúr. He defeated and dispersed this assemblage; and then went against the hill fort of Chunár, near Benáres, at that time held by his future rival, Shír Khán. Shír Khán submitted on condition of retaining the fort, and Humáyun returned to Agra.

A. D. 1532, A. H. 939.

Disputes with Bahádur Sháh, king of Guzerát.

A. D. 1532, A. H. 940.

Some time before this period, a distant relation of Humáyun's, who had been engaged in plots against his life and government, had taken refuge with Bahádur Sháh, king of Guzerát; and the refusal of that monarch to comply with Humáyun's demand for his surrender, led to irritation and hostile feelings between the two kings. Bahádur, whose native kingdom always occupied a high rank among those formed out of the fragments of the empire of Delhi, had lately extended his power much beyond its former limits. The kings of Cándésh, Bérár, and Ahmednagar had agreed to do him homage for their crowns; and he had completely conquered the kingdom of Málwa, and annexed it to his own.

While his discussion with Humáyun was at its height, Alá u dín, the brother of Sultán I'brahím Lódi, who acted so conspicuous a part in the former reign, having quitted the residence assigned to him by Báber, in Badakhshán, threw himself on the protection of the king of Guzerát; and Bahádúr, whose family had risen to greatness under

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the house of Lódi, and who had himself found an asylum at the court of I'brahím, being at once incited by favour for his hereditary patrons, resentment at Humáyun, and pride in his own power and prosperity, was tempted into measures as inconsistent with sound policy as with justice. Without any open declaration of war with Humáyun, he liberally supplied Alá u dín with money, and enabled him, in a very short time, to assemble a large force, and to send it against Agra, under his son, Tátár Khán. This army, so hastily collected, was as speedily dispersed; and Tátár Khán fell in battle, at the head of a division which remained faithful in the general desertion. A. D. 1534, A. H. 941.

Invasion and conquest of Guzerát.

Encouraged by this success, or, perhaps, in pursuance of plans already determined on, Humáyun marched from Agra to revenge the injury he had received from Bahádur Sháh. That prince was now at war with the rána of Méwár, and being entirely occupied by the siege of Chitór, was particularly exposed to the attack of an enemy; but Humáyun, moved by his remonstrances against the impiety of molesting a Mussulman prince while engaged in war with the infidels, or influenced by his own dilatory habits, retarded his march, until the place was taken, and the besieger prepared to receive him in an intrenched camp at Mandesór. Bahádur had chosen this course on account of the superiority of his artillery, commanded by a Constantinopolitan Turk, and partly served by Portuguese prisoners. These advantages

A. D. 1534, November; A. H. 941, Jamádi al awal.

A. D. 1535, March; A. H. 941, Rámzán.

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availed him little; his position was rendered untenable by the enemy's cutting off his supplies; and, finding that famine would soon force him to surrender, he blew up his guns, and fled in the night, almost alone, to Mándu, leaving his army to provide for its own safety.

The army immediately dispersed, and Bahádur, being hard pressed at Mándu, continued his flight to Chámpanér, and thence to the sea port of Cambay. Humáyun was by this time in pursuit of him in person, with a light detachment, and reached Cambay on the evening of the day on which Bahádur had quitted it for his final place of refuge at Diú, in the most remote part of the peninsula of Guzerát.*

Having failed in his immediate object, Humáyun quitted the peninsula, and proceeded to occupy the settled part of Guzerát. He soon obtained possession of the open country, but the year was well advanced before the hill fort of Champanér fell into his hands. It was scaled in the night, with the help of steel spikes fixed in an

* When Humáyun was encamped at Cambay, he was exposed to considerable danger from a night attack of a body of Cúlis, a forest tribe still famous for similar exploits in Guzerát. They made their way with so much silence and intelligence into the camp, that they surprised Humáyun's own tent and carried off his baggage and books, among which was a remarkable copy of the "History of Tamerlane," the loss and subsequent recovery of which are thought worthy of being recorded by the historians of those times. Humáyun, by way of retaliating the insult he had received from these lawless mountaineers, gave up the unoffending town of Cambay to plunder.

almost perpendicular rock, by 300 chosen men, who climbed up, one by one, during an attack made on one of the gates by the army. Humáyun himself was among the 300.*

A. D. 1535, August; A. H. 942, Safar. Expulsion of the Moguls from Guzerát.

Soon after the taking of Chámpanér, Humáyun received accounts of the commencement of those troubles which ended in the successful revolt of Shír Khán. He set off for Agra, leaving his brother, Mírza Askari, in charge of his new conquests; and had scarcely quitted Guzerát, when dissensions broke out among the officers left behind; discontents and intrigues ensued, and ended in some project for raising Mírza Askari to the throne. Bahádur profited by these disorders; and to such a state of weakness were the invaders reduced, that they gave up Guzerát, without a struggle; and evacuated Málwa, which was not even threatened.†

A. D. 1535-6, A. H. 942.

Humáyun had not been long returned to his

* When the fort was taken, it was found that the place where Bahádur's treasure was concealed was known only to one officer, and it was suggested to have recourse to torture to make him disclose the secret; but Humáyun said they had much better have recourse to wine, and directed that the officer should be well treated, and invited to an entertainment by one of his own chiefs. Accordingly, when his heart was softened by kindness and warmed with good cheer, the officer made no scruple to tell his entertainer, that if the water were drawn off from a certain reservoir, the treasure would be found in a vault beneath it; and his instructions being complied with, a large amount of gold and silver was found as he had described.

† Ferishta, vols. ii. and iv. Price, vol. iv. Memoirs of Humáyun. Bird's History of Guzerat. Paper by Col. Miles, *Bombay Literary Transactions*, vol. i.

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Early life and rise of Shír Khán Súr.

capital before he set out against Shír Khán.* This person †, who was soon to act so great a part, was the grandson of I'brahím Khán, a native of Afghánistán. I'brahím claimed to be descended of the family (though probably only of the tribe) of the kings of Ghór, and both he and his son Hasan were married into noble families of their own nation. Hasan held a jágír at Sahserám, in Behár, for the maintenance of 500 horse. He had two sons by his Afghán wife, Shír Khán and Nizám Khán; but he was led, by the arts of a concubine,

* He marched in the month of Safar, but the year is uncertain: the "Táríkhi Shír Sháh" says A. H. 942 (A. D. 1535); and the "Mantakhib al Towárikh," as well as Ferishta, A. H. 943 (A. D. 1536). The former date, 942, is impossible, because Humáyun took the fort of Chámpanér in Guzerát in that very month and year. The other year, 943, is improbable, as it allows only a twelvemonth for the final settlement of Guzerát and Málwa, besides the return to Delhi and the preparations for the war with Shír Khán; while it leaves a year and a half for Humáyun's march of 350 miles through his own dominions to Chúnár. I should therefore suppose that his march took place place in Safar, A. H. 944 (July 1537).

† This account of Shír Sháh is compiled from Ferishta, vols. i., ii., iv., from Erskine's "Baber," and from Abul Fazl, in Price, vol. iv. Ferishta gives a connected history of Shír Sháh (vol. ii. p. 98.), which, though it appears to be written with perfect impartiality, is extremely confused from inattention to dates; the different expeditions of Báber being mixed up with those of Humáyun in such a manner as to make them quite inexplicable without other aid. This aid he himself partially supplies under the reigns of I'brahím, Báber, and Humáyun; but more is derived from Báber's own Memoirs. Abul Fazl also furnishes several facts, though his general narrative is a mere invective against Shír Sháh, such as might have been expected from the minister of Humáyun's son.

to slight his wife, and neglect her children; and as soon as Shír Khán was of an age to act for himself, he left his father, went to Júanpúr, and entered as a private soldier into the service of the governor. His father applied to the governor to send him home for his education, but Shír Khán urged that there were more opportunities of education at Júanpúr than at Sahserám; and he seems to have been in earnest in his preference, for he devoted himself to study, made himself familiar with history and poetry, and could repeat all the poems of Sádi from memory, besides acquiring a general knowledge of other branches of information. He was subsequently restored to favour by his father, and managed his jágír, until Solimán, the son of his step-mother, had grown up. After this he found his situation so unpleasant, that he went off with his full brother, Nizám, and entered into the service of Sultán Secander, who was then king.* He remained at Delhi until his father died, when the jágír of Sahserám was conferred on him; and after the defeat of Sultán Ibrahím (A. D. 1526), he was active in the service of Mohammed Sháh Lohání, who set up for king of Júanpúr and Behár. He was for some time in favour with this prince, but being again deprived of his paternal jágír by the intrigues of his half brother, Solimán, he left the court in disgust, and joined Junid, the governor of Júanpúr, on the part of Báber (A. D. 1527). By

* Secander died in A. D. 1517.

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the assistance of Junid, he assembled a body of adventurers in the hills of Behár, recovered his own jágír, and carried on attacks and depredations on the territory of Mohammed Sháh Lohání, professing himself a subject of Báber. About this time (A. D. 1528) he waited on that monarch, accompanied him to Chándéri (A. D. 1528), and was confirmed in his possessions, and intrusted with a command in Behár, on the part of the emperor.

Next year (1529) Mahmúd Lódi took Behár; and Shír Khán, either from necessity, or an inclination to the cause of his nation, joined the Lódi standard. On the dispersion of Mahmúd's army, he was one of the many chiefs who made their submission to Báber (April 1529).* Mohammed Sháh Lohání was now dead; and his son Jelál, who was a minor, in charge of his mother, and at that time accompanying the Bengal army, made his submission also, and was invested with considerable powers, on the part of the emperor. He was still, however, under the management of his mother, Dúdú, over whom Shír Khán acquired such an ascendancy, that, on her death, Jelál was left in entire dependence on that ambitious chief. Shír Khán now made himself master of Behár, and also obtained possession of the fort of Chunár, as, at this or some subsequent period, he did of the still more important fortress of Rohtás.†

He obtains possession of Behár,

* Erskine's Báber, p. 408.

† Rohtás was taken by treachery from a Hindú rája. Shír Khán persuaded him to give an asylum to his family, and then

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These rapid advances to power were made in the early part of Humáyun's reign; and as soon as that prince had settled his discussions with Cámrán, and had time to attend to his interests in the provinces, he marched against Chunár, as has been already stated (1532). He, however, was content with the recognition of his title, and the service of a body of horse, under Shír Khán's son; and this young man took an opportunity to withdraw when the king began his march against Bahádur Sháh. Humáyun, thenceforward, was fully occupied in Guzerát; and before his return, Shír Khán had got complete possession of Behár, had invaded Bengal, and had made great progress in the conquest of that rich kingdom.

and conquers Bengal.

His war with Bengal was occasioned by Jelál Lohání, who had called in the aid of the king of that country to relieve him from the control of Shír Khán, and, by his means, had at one time nearly succeeded in his object; but Shír Khán soon retrieved his losses, repelled the attack on himself, and laid siege to Gour, the capital of the hostile king.

He was engaged in this enterprise when Humáyun returned; and that prince could not fail to

introduced armed soldiers in the covered litters, which were supposed to conceal the women. This stratagem, which has so fabulous an appearance, was thought sufficiently plausible in modern times to be employed by M. Bussy to conceal the treachery of a governor who admitted him into the strong fort of Doulatábád.

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perceive, at once, the advantage of attacking him while thus embarrassed, and the danger of allowing him to consolidate his power.

Humáyun marches against him.

With those views, he marched at the head of a powerful army from Agra, and advanced through a peaceful country till he reached Chunár, near Benáres.

Military features of Behár and Bengal.

But Shír Khán was well aware of all the danger of his situation, and laid his plans for averting it with a foresight and combination of which we have no example in the previous history of India.

His first object was to gain time to complete the conquest of Bengal, before he should be disturbed by a new enemy. For this purpose he threw a strong garrison into Chunár, and provided it with all the means of retarding the advance of Humáyun, by an obstinate defence.

This fort stands on a rock, close to the Ganges, and is, as it were, a detached portion of the Vindya mountains, which extend to the same river near Mírzápúr. From that neighbourhood the hills recede westward, by the fort of Rohtás and Shírgháti, and do not approach the river again until near Bhágalpúr, after which they run straight south, leaving the Ganges at a great distance. These hills, therefore, cover the whole of the south-west of Behár and Bengal, and shut up the road along the south bank of the Ganges, in two places; one near Chunár, and the other at Sícragalli, east of Bhágalpúr. The hills themselves are not high, but poor and covered with woods.

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As Humáyan marched along the Ganges, and made use of that river to convey his guns and stores, it was necessary for him to begin with the siege of Chunár. * After investing the place, he endeavoured to mine such parts of the walls as were accessible on the land side, and also brought floating batteries, constructed for the purpose, to bear upon the face towards the river. Notwithstanding all these preparations, his attack failed; the garrison, however, having already held out for several months, and knowing that they had no prospect of relief, at length surrendered. The siege had been conducted by Rúmi Khán, the Constantinopolitan Turk, who brought Bahádur Sháh of Guzerat's ordnance to so high a state, and who had since entered into the service of Humáyun; and so much importance was attached to the knowledge of the service of artillery in those days, that the right hands of all the gunners in the garrison, to the number of 300, were cut off, either to disable them for the future, or in revenge for the loss they had occasioned.

Siege of Chunár.

After the taking of Chunár, Humáyun pushed

* The Memoirs of Humáyun say that the army reached Chunár on the Shabí Bárát (Shabán 15th) of A. H. 945. January, 1539; but this would leave only six months for the conquest of Bengal and all the other operations till Humáyun's defeat in Safar, 946 (June, 1539). I conclude, therefore, that the memoir writer, who scarcely ever gives a date, may have mistaken the year, although he has remembered the festival, and that the siege began 15th Shábán, 944 (January 8th, 1538). All accounts agree that the siege lasted several months; some say six months.

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his march along the Ganges. Before reaching Patna, he was met by Mahmúd, king of Bengal, who had just been driven from his dominions, and was still suffering from a wound he had received in his last defeat.

As he approached the defile of Sícragali, he sent on a strong detachment to take possession of it. They found it already occupied by Jelál Khán, the son of Shír Khán, who attacked and repulsed them with considerable loss. Humáyun hastened on with his main body to retrieve this check, but was agreeably surprised to find the pass deserted, and the road open to the capital of Bengal.

Shír Khán's plan for resisting the invasion.

It was no part of Shír Khan's plan to cope with the superior force of Humáyun in this stage of the campaign. His design from the first was to retire to the hilly tract on the south-west; and with this view he had removed his family, and all that he possessed of value, to Rohtás. The protracted siege of Chunár had enabled him to reduce Gour, and to defeat Mahmúd in a conclusive battle. He had still required time to remove the captured treasure and stores to Rohtás, and to dispose of the open country in the manner that suited his views. Jelál Khán had therefore been instructed to delay Humáyun at the pass, but to avoid any serious encounter, and to join his father in the hills. Humáyun accordingly took possession of Gour* without further opposition. But the rains

Taking of Gour by Humáyun.

* Probably June or July, 1538. Abul Fazl states that Bengal was conquered in A. H. 945. That year began on May 30th,

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had by this time attained their height: the Delta of the Ganges was one vast sheet of water; and in the country beyond the reach of inundation every brook and channel was become an impassable flood. It was impossible to carry on operations in Bengal, and scarcely less difficult to keep up a communication with upper India. This forced inactivity lasted for several months, during which time the spirit of the soldiers sank under the moist and sultry climate, and their numbers were thinned by the sickly season that follows the heavy rains. No sooner were the roads open, than they began to desert in numbers; and Prince Hindál, who had been left in North Behár, went off even before the rains had ceased.

His difficulties during the rainy season.

Meanwhile Shír Khán issued from his retreat, took possession of Behár and Benáres, recovered Chunár, laid siege to Júanpúr, and pushed his detachments up the Ganges as far as Canóuj. Thus, when the season for military operations commenced, Humáyun found his communication with his capital again intercepted, and himself left with no alternative but to trust his new conquest to the charge of a weak detachment, and endeavour to force his way to Agra with the rest of his reduced army.

Active operations of Shír Khán.

He for some time hesitated to adopt this decided measure, and the dry season was half over before

Retreat of Humáyun.

1538; but it appears that Humáyun had met with rain before he left Behár, where the rainy season does not commence till June.

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he set out on his retreat. He sent on a considerable body before he himself began his march, under the command of Khán Khánán Lodi, one of Báber's principal generals. By the time this force reached Monghír, it was surprised and defeated by a detachment sent by Shír, who was now as enterprising as he had before been cautious; and who, to show his confidence in the result of his operations, had already assumed the title of king.

Shír Khán assumes the title of king.

If Humáyun had not before had sufficient motives for extricating himself from his present situation, the accounts he was daily receiving of the progress of affairs at Agra must have filled him with impatience: but by the time he had passed Baxar, between Patna and Benáres, he found that Shír Sháh had raised the siege of Júanpúr, and was come by forced marches to intercept his retreat. Shír Sháh had made a march of thirty-five miles on that day, and Humáyun was advised to attack him before his troops had time to refresh. The step seemed too hazardous to be adopted at once; and next day he found Shír intrenched in such a manner that he could neither be passed nor attacked with any prospect of success. Humáyun, therefore, intrenched in his turn, and began to collect boats and form a bridge across the Ganges, so as to pursue his retreat along the opposite bank. Shír Sháh, to whom every delay was an advantage, allowed him to go on for nearly two months; when, the bridge of boats being nearly completed, Shír Sháh one day left his camp standing and occupied

Intercepts Humáyun on his retreat.

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by a sufficient force to conceal his movement from the enemy, while he himself, with the choice of his army, made a secret march to the rear of Humáyun's position, and, returning in the night, attacked him in three columns about daybreak, and completely surprised his camp. Humáyun had only time to leap on horseback, and, though himself disposed to make one effort, at least, against the enemy, he was urged by those around him to provide for his own safety; and one of his principal officers, seizing his reins, in a manner compelled him to make his way to the river-side. The bridge, as has been mentioned, was not finished; and as Humáyun had not a moment for deliberation, he plunged at once into the Ganges. Before he reached the opposite bank his horse was exhausted, and sunk into the stream; and Humáyun himself must have met with the same fate, if he had not been saved by a water-carrier who was crossing with the aid of the skin used to hold water which he had inflated like a bladder, and which enabled him to support the king's weight as well as his own. Thus rescued, Humáyun pursued his flight, with a very small retinue, to Calpí, and thence proceeded to Agra, almost the whole of his army having been cut off by the enemy or drowned in the river. Humáyun's queen, whom it had been the object of his last exertion to save, had already been surrounded, and fell into the hands of the enemy: she was treated by Shír Sháh with scrupulous delicacy and attention, and was sent on

Surprises him, and disperses his army.

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the first opportunity to a place of safety. This tremendous disaster took place in the end of June, 1539.*

A. H. 946, Safar 6.; A. D. 1539, June 26.

Humáyun's presence, discomfited as he was, was of essential importance at Agra. While he was shut up in Bengal, Prince Hindál had begun to collect adherents at Agra, and being afterwards joined by the fugitives from Bengal, he went into open rebellion; while Prince Cámrán, on being applied to by the king's representatives, immediately set out from Cábul, professedly to support Humáyun's interests, but in reality to be at hand to profit by any opportunity of advancing his own. The arrival of Humáyun put a stop to all those designs. He pardoned Hindál at the intercession of Cámrán; and the three brothers united their exertions to arrest the progress of their common enemy.

While Humáyun was occupied in repairing his losses, Shír Sháh contented himself with retaining his acquisitions in Hisdostan, and proceeded to recover possession of Bengal, and to put all his former territories into a state of order.

* Most writers ascribe Humáyun's defeat to treachery, and say that Shír Sháh attacked him during an armistice, or even after a peace had been signed. This account, in itself, does not seem improbable; but that given by Colonel Price from Abul Fazl, although it occasionally applies opprobrious epithets to the enemy of Húmáyun, does great justice to Shír Sháh in the facts, and asserts, on this occasion, that he delayed Humáyun's retreat by amusing him with negotiations, but never professed to suspend his hostility, and was entirely indebted to his military skill for the success of his stratagem.

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Eight or nine months were employed on both sides in these transactions. Towards the end of the Mahometan year, Humáyun once more moved from Agra, his own army being strengthened by a reinforcement of 3000 men belonging to Cámrán, who himself retired to Láhór. By this time Shír Sháh had reached the Ganges opposite Canouj; and both parties seemed unwilling to offer an advantage to the other; until at length Sultán Mírza (a prince of the family of Tamerlane who had before been in rebellion) deserted from Humáyun's camp with his followers; and the example was so likely to be followed, that Humáyun determined to bring the contest to an issue, and crossed the Ganges by a bridge of boats which he had constructed. A general action ensued, in which Humáyun's army was entirely defeated and driven into the Ganges. Humáyun himself was in imminent danger: his horse was wounded; and he must have been killed or taken, if he had not fortunately found an elephant, on which he mounted: even then the driver could not be prevailed on to attempt to swim the Ganges; and the king was obliged to throw him from his seat on the neck, and give his place to an eunuch whom he had found on the elephant, and who now guided the animal across the stream. The opposite bank was too steep for the elephant to ascend; and Humáyan must still have perished, if two soldiers, who happened to have gained that part of the shore, had not tied their turbans together and thrown one end

A. D. 1540, April; A. H. 946, Zil Caádah.

Second campaign.

Final defeat of Humáyun.

A. D. 1540. May 16.; A. H. 947. Moharram 10.

His flight.

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to him, so as to enable him to make good his landing. Before long he was joined by his brothers, the princes Hindál and Askeri, and also by some troops, and all together made their way to Agra, after a narrow escape from being plundered by the villagers on their road.

All hope of further resistance was now at an end; and they had scarcely time to remove the royal family and the most portable part of the treasures from Agra and Delhi, and to escape to Cámrán at Láhór.

He arrives at Láhór. A. D. 1540, July 5.; A. H. 947, Rabi al Awal.

Even there Humáyun was no welcome guest. Cámrán was equally afraid of being supplanted by him at home, and of being involved in his quarrel with Shír Sháh, and lost no time in making his peace with the conqueror, to whom he ceded the Panjáb, and retired, himself, to Cábul, leaving Humáyun to provide as he could for his own safety.

A. D. 1540, end of Oct.; A. H. 947, Jamádi al Awal.

The deserted monarch turned his thoughts to Sind, the province which adjoined to Cámrán's territories on the south. It was in the hands of Husén, the head of the family of Arghún, who had been driven out of Candahár by Báber; and as it had once belonged to Delhi, Humáyun hoped that he might still find some means of inducing it to recognise his authority.

Fails in an attempt on Sind.

But there was nothing in Humáyun's character to promise him such an ascendancy.

Though not deficient in intelligence, he had little energy; and, though free from vices and violent passions, he was no less devoid of principles

and affections. By nature he was more inclined to ease than ambition; yet as he had been brought up under Báber, and accustomed to bodily and mental exertion, he never was entirely wanting to the exigencies of his situation, or quite lost the advantages of his birth and pretensions, though he never turned them to the best account. CHAP. II.

He passed into the Arghún territories through U'ch; but after a year and a half of fruitless negotiations, and no less fruitless hostilities (during which he attempted the sieges of Bakkar and Sehwán), he found his funds expended, and the resources of the country exhausted, and was deserted by the adventurers he had collected, just as Husén Arghún was advancing to attack him. In this extremity he fled to U'ch, and resolved, as a last resource, to throw himself on the protection of Máldeó, rája of Márwár, whom he supposed to be favourably disposed towards him; but when, after a journey over the desert, in which he lost many of his followers from thirst and fatigue, he had reached the neighbourhood of Jódpúr, he found that the rája was much less inclined to assist him than to deliver him up to his enemies, and was obliged again to seek comparative safety in the dreary sands from which he had just emerged. His present object was to make his way to Amercót, a fort in the desert not far from the Indus; and in this journey he had a more desolate tract than ever to pass, and had greater evils to encounter than any he had yet experienced. Be-

Seeks refuge in Jódpúr;

which is refused.

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fore he quitted the inhabited country, the villagers repelled all approaches to their water, which was to them a precious possession; and it was not without a conflict and bloodshed that his followers were able to slake their thirst. And all this was but a prelude to scenes of greater distress. His small train was encumbered by the presence of the women of his family; and they had already left the last trace of human culture behind, and were struggling with thirst in the heart of the desert, when, one morning, after a night of fatigue, they perceived that their march was followed by a considerable body of horse; and their worst apprehensions seem to be realised when they found it was commanded by the son of Máldeó, and was sent to chastise their intrusion into his territory.

Horrors of his march through the desert.

These new enemies closed in on the exhausted party, cut off those who attempted resistance, and drove the rest before them; while another detachment pushed forward and took possession of the wells, on which the only remaining hope even of temporary relief was founded.

The calamities of the fugitives seemed now drawing to a close; but the Rájpúts had no intention of destroying them; and when all hope appeared to be extinguished, the rája's son advanced with a white flag, and after reproaching them with having entered his father's territory without leave, and with having killed kine in a Hindú country, supplied them with water for their immediate relief, and allowed them to proceed without fur-

ther molestation. But the natural horrors of the desert still remained; several marches were still to be accomplished; and it was not till they had again endured the torments of thirst, and witnessed the miserable death of many of their companions, that Humáyun, with seven mounted attendants, at length found entrance to Amercót. The straggling survivors of his party assembled at the same place.

Is hospitably received at Amercót.

At Amercót he, at last, found a friend. The chief, whose name was Rána Persád, not only received him with respect and hospitality, but offered his assistance in another attempt to gain an establishment in Sind.

Birth of Akber.

It was this period of depression and affliction that gave birth to Akber, a prince destined to raise the Indian empire to the greatest lustre that it ever enjoyed (Oct. 14. 1542). During his residence beyond the Indus, Humáyun had been struck with the beauty of a young lady whom he saw at an entertainment given to him, in the women's apartment, by his step-mother, the mother of prince Hindál. He found she was the daughter of a Seiad, a native of Jám, in Khorásán*, and formerly preceptor to that prince, that her name was Hamída, and that she was not yet betrothed; and so strong was the impression made on him, that, in spite of the angry remonstrances of his brother, he almost immediately married her. She was far advanced

* Price, vol. iv. pp. 760. 840. Memoirs of Humáyun, p. 31.

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in her pregnancy during the march to Amercót, and it was with the utmost difficulty that she was conveyed through the hardships of the desert.

Second attempt on Sind.

Humáyun had marched for Sind the day before the birth of Akber. It is usual on such occasions for the father to give presents among his friends. Humáyun had no presents to give, except one pod of musk, which he broke up when the news reached him, and distributed among his adherents, with a wish that his son's fame might be diffused throughout the world like the odour of that perfume.

He was accompanied on this expedition by Rána Persád with a considerable body of Rájpúts, and he had again collected 100 Moguls of his own. With this force they proceeded to Jún in Sind.* They took the place after an action with the officer in charge; and though harassed by attacks from the troops of the Arghúns, they were joined by the neighbouring Hindú princes, and formed an army estimated by the author of the Memoirs at 15,000 horse.

But Humáyun's ill fortune, or ill management, continued to attend him. The rája, after giving decisive proofs of his fidelity, was affronted by a Mogul, and got so little redress on complaining, that he quitted the camp in indignation, and was followed by all his Hindú friends.

In consequence of this defection, Humáyun was

* Probably Jún (or Jiún) on a branch of the Indus, half way between Tatta and Amercót. (See the map to Dr. Burnes's Account of Sind.)

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left almost alone to contend with Husén Arghún, who was advancing against him. He, nevertheless, threw up intrenchments, and defended himself as well as he could; till Husén Arghún, glad to get rid of him on any terms, consented to allow him to withdraw, and even to assist him on his journey, if he would immediately set out for Candahár. These terms being settled, Humáyun began his march towards his native kingdom (July 9. 1543).

Humáyun consents to retire to Candahár.

His younger brothers had long quitted him, after occasioning him much annoyance from their restless disposition; and Candahár was then held by Mírza Askari on the part of Cámrán. Humáyun's object probably was to bring that prince over to his side, or to take the chances of gaining possession in some other way. His professed intention, however, was to leave his son at Candahár, and proceed, himself, on a pilgrimage to Mecca.*

His dangers in that country.

When he had reached Shál, about 130 miles south of Candahár, a horseman, sent by one of his old adherents, galloped up to his tent, sprung from his horse, and, without quitting the bridle, rushed into the tent, and announced that Mírza Askari was close at hand, with the design of making Humáyun prisoner. So little was he prepared for

* Some unexplained delay must have occurred between Jún and Sehwán. The whole distance from Jún to Shál is under 450 miles; and the journey from Sehwán to Shál appears, by the Memoirs, to have been made in nine days; yet the whole time, from Jún to Shál, was five months (from Rabi a Sáni, July 9th, to the middle of Rámzán, about December 10th).

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this intelligence, that he had only time to place the queen on his own horse, and was obliged to leave her child to the compassion of his uncle. Mírza Askari soon after arrived. He pretended to have come with friendly intentions, treated his infant nephew with affection, and removed the whole party to Candahár (Dec. 14. 1543). Meanwhile Humáyun, accompanied by forty-two followers, escaped to the Garmsír, and thence to Sístán, which was then under the Persian government. He was received with great respect by the governor, and sent on to Herát, to wait the orders of the king of Persia. At the latter city he was joined by several of his partisans from Candahár.

His flight to Persia.

Three years had elapsed since his first arrival in Sind, of which eighteen months had been occupied in his negotiations and military attempts in that country. Six months were spent in his journeys to the eastward of the Indus; and a year in his residence at Jún and his journey to Candahár. In his military affairs he had shown no want of personal courage, but great deficiency in enterprise; and he had gone through his subsequent calamities with cheerfulness that approached to magnanimity.

His temper was put to many trials; for, as delicacy and subordination cannot be kept up under great sufferings, he was often exposed to instances of ill humour and disrespect from his followers. He was more than once refused a horse when it was almost necessary to his safety. A boat, which he had prepared to convey his

family, on his flight, across the Indus, was seized by one of his chiefs; and, during the terrible march to Amercót, an officer, who had lent his horse to the mother of Akber, on finding his own exhausted, compelled her to dismount; and Humáyun was obliged to give her *his*, and proceed on foot till he met with a baggage camel. On the other hand, he sometimes showed little consideration for his followers. When he reached Amercót, and was under the protection of the rája, he suddenly seized the baggage of his adherents, and even ripped open their saddles to discover their property, of which he took half to supply his own exigencies. At the end of one of his first marches towards Jódpúr, where he had lost many of his party in the desert, he loaded all the cattle, even his own horses, with water, to relieve the survivors who might be unable to come on; and as he went part of the way back himself, he found a Mogul merchant, to whom he owed a large sum of money, lying in the last stage of exhaustion, when, with a hard-hearted pleasantry, he refused to give him a drop of water until he had cancelled his debt before legal witnesses; and it does not appear that he ever relieved the poor man from the consequences of this forced remission.

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SHÍR SHÁH, AND OTHERS OF THE FAMILY OF SÚR.

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A. D. 1540, A. H. 947.

THE ultimate success of the house of Teimúr, and the great celebrity which they afterwards obtained, have occasioned Shír Sháh to be considered as an usurper. Yet, as he was born in India, and expelled a foreign family who had only been fourteen years in possession, his claim was, in reality, more conformable to justice than those of most founders of dynasties in that country.

Shír Sháh takes possession of all Humáyun's dominions.

The retreat of Cámrán seems to have been concerted with Shír Sháh, for he had no sooner withdrawn than the latter monarch took possession of the whole of the Panjáb. After settling the province, and founding the famous fort of Róhtás, on the Hydaspes, which he named after that in Behár, he returned to Agra, and was soon called to subdue the revolt of his own governor of Bengal. He made such a division of that province for the future as to guard against a repetition of disturbance.

Recovers Málwa. A. D. 1542, A. H. 949.

In the course of the next year he conquered Málwa; and in that succeeding he reduced the fort of Ráisín, which was held by the son of Silhadi, a Hindú chief, who had enjoyed great authority under the government of Bahádur Sháh.

A. D. 1543, A. H. 950.

Massacres the garrison of Ráisín.

The garrison surrendered on terms; but when they had left the fort, the capitulation was declared null

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on the authority of the legal opinion of some Mahometan lawyers; and the Hindús, who had confided to the faith of their engagement, were attacked and cut to pieces after a brave resistance. No motive can be discovered for this act of treachery and cruelty. There was no example to make or injury to revenge, and the days of religious fury were long since gone by; yet there is no action so atrocious in the history of any Mahometan prince in India, except Tamerlane.

A.D. 1544, A.H. 951. Invades Márwár.

Next year, Shír invaded Márwár, with an army of 80,000 men. Máldeó, rája of that country, was in the height of his power, and derived additional strength from the sterility of his territory and the want of water in many parts of it. Although he had only 50,000 men to oppose to the superior numbers of his antagonist, he appears, at first, to have overawed the invader. Shír remained for a month, halted within a short distance of his army; but succeeded, at last, by the usual trick of letters written on purpose to be intercepted, in exciting the rája's suspicions of his chiefs, and thus inducing him to commence a retreat. One of those chiefs, indignant at the imputation, determined, in the Rájpút spirit of honour, to wipe it off at any risk. He quitted the army with his own tribe, consisting of only 12,000 men, and fell with such impetuosity on Shír Sháh, who was unprepared for so vigorous an effort, that he threw his camp into confusion; and so nearly gained the victory, that Shír Sháh, when he had, at last, succeeded in repulsing the

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assailants, declared that he had nearly lost the empire of India for a handful of millet; alluding to the poverty of the country and the low quality of its produce.

Takes Chitór. Is killed at Cálinjer.

He soon after took Chitór, and laid siege to Cálinjer. He was here overtaken by a just retribution for his breach of faith at Ráisín; for the rája refused to enter into terms which he could not be sure would be observed; and as Shír was superintending the batteries, he was involved in the explosion of a magazine, which had been struck by the enemy's shot, and was so scorched, that, although he survived for some hours, his recovery was hopeless from the first, and towards evening he expired.

In the midst of his agonies, he continued to direct the operations of the siege; and when intelligence was brought to him that the place was taken, he exclaimed, "Thanks be to Almighty God!" and never spoke again.

A. D. 1545, May 22. A. H. 952, Rabi ul awal.

His character.

Shír Sháh appears to have been a prince of consummate prudence and ability. His ambition was always too strong for his principles, and in the massacre at Ráisín, he had not even that passion to plead; but towards his subjects, his measures were as benevolent in their intention as wise in their conduct. Notwithstanding his short reign and constant activity in the field, he brought his territories into the highest order, and introduced many improvements in his civil government. Abul Fazl affects to deride his institutions, which he re-

His internal improvements.

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presents as a revival of those of Alá u dín; nevertheless, most of them remained after the downfal of his dynasty, and are spoken of by the same author, along with many others of former sovereigns, as original conceptions of his master, Akber. Another author, who wrote under Akber*, states that Shír Sháh made a high road, extending for four months' journey from Bengal to the western Rohtás, near the Indus, with caravanserais at every stage, and wells at every mile and a half; there was an Imám and a Muezzin at every mosque, and provisions for the poor at every caravanserai, with attendants of proper casts for Hindús as well as Mussulmans. The road was planted with rows of trees, for shade; and in many places was in the state described when the author saw it after it had stood for fifty-two years.

Shír Sháh was buried at Sahserám, where his stately mausoleum is still to be seen, standing in the centre of an artificial piece of water a mile in circumference, which is faced by walls of cut stone, with flights of steps descending to the water.

Selím Sháh Súr.

A'dil Khán was the eldest son of Shír Sháh, and had been recognised as his heir by that king. He was a prince of a feeble character, while his second brother, Jelál Khán, was a man of known abilities,

A. D. 1545, May 25.; A. H. 952, Rabi ul awal 15. Selím supplants his elder brother.

* In the "Muntakhib ul Tawárikh," written in A. H. 1004, A. D. 1594-5.

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and had distinguished himself as a soldier in his father's wars. For these reasons, most of the chiefs were disposed to support Jelál; and four of the principal of them having pledged their faith to A'dil for his personal safety, and for his receiving an adequate provision, he was induced to abdicate in favour of his brother. Jelál accordingly was proclaimed by the title of Selím Sháh, and a tract of country near Biána was assigned to A'dil. He soon after took alarm at some proceedings of Selím; and he seems to have had good grounds for his suspicions, as Khowás Khán, the principal general of Shír Sháh, and one of the four chiefs who were security for the late agreement, took A'dil under his protection, revolted from the king, and marched straight to the capital for the purpose of deposing him. Selím had much to fear from disaffection at home as well as from the declared rebels; but he anticipated all movements against him by his promptitude and firmness, defeated the enemy, and in time entirely crushed the rebellion. A'dil fled to Behár, and was never more heard of.

Quells an obstinate rebellion.

The nobles who had been secretly engaged in the conspiracy did not feel that their failure to take part with it had saved them from the suspicions of the king. One was convicted and punished; and the others began to plot anew, and took arms for their own protection, without setting up any competitor for the crown.

The contest on this occasion took place in the Panjáb. The rebels were again defeated. They

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retired among the Gakkars; by the strength of whose country, and the support of the Afghán tribe of Niází, they were able to keep alive the insurrection for two years.

Till A.D. 1547, A.H. 954.

The rest of Selím's reign was passed in tranquillity. On one occasion, indeed, he was informed that King Humáyun, who had recovered Cábul, had actually crossed the Indus to attack him. Selím happened to be indisposed at the time, and was sitting under the application of leeches; but he started up on the instant, directed an immediate march, and was encamped six miles from Delhi before evening. If alarm had any share in this display of energy, it was ill-founded: Humáyun had only crossed for local purposes, and almost immediately retired to Cábul.

Dies. A.D. 1553, A.H. 960.

Selím Sháh died after a reign of nine years. He was an improver, like his father, but rather in public works than in laws. One division of the royal palace at Delhi was built by him; and although Humáyun ordered it to be called Núrghar, by which name only it can be mentioned at court, it still retains that of Selímghar every where but in the royal presence.

Account of a fanatical sect.

In this king's reign there appeared at Biána a sectary, named Shékh Allái, who preached the doctrines of the Gheir Mehdis, and by his earnest zeal and persuasive eloquence soon induced many persons to join him. They threw their property into a common stock; and some even left their families and devoted themselves to the shékh.

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Khowás Khán, the great general whose rebellion has been mentioned, was at one time among their number. At first, the shékh's fanaticism was inoffensive; but some of his followers went beyond all tolerable bounds: they thought it was their duty to interfere whenever they saw a man in any act of sin, and if he did not attend to their remonstrance, to put him to death. The civil government, as well as the Mahometan lawyers, thought it now high time to interpose. The shékh was tried, and condemned to death; but the king remitted his sentence, and banished him to Hindia on the Nerbadda. This only spread the infection of his doctrines: he converted the governor and the garrison, and was making greater progress than ever, when he was recalled to the capital. The king was importuned by the Múllas to put him to death; and, after many delays, he ordered him to be whipped, and then left to consider whether he would recant his errors: the shékh had, in the mean time, been seized by an epidemic then prevailing, and was so reduced that he expired at the third lash. His sect created no disturbance, and seems to have melted away.

Mohammed Sháh Súr A'dili.

A.D. 1553, A.H. 960. Mohammed A'dili murders his nephew.

On Selím's death, his son, a boy of twelve years old, was murdered by his uncle, Mohammed Khán, who usurped his throne under the title of Mohammed A'dil Sháh, but is better known by that of

A'dili. His character was not such as to efface the memory of his crime; he was grossly ignorant, fond of coarse debauchery and low society, and as despicable from his incapacity as he was odious for his vices.

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and usurps the throne. His vices and incapacity.

He committed the conduct of his government to one Hému, a Hindú, who had once kept a small shop, and whose appearance is said to have been meaner than his origin. Yet, with all these external disadvantages, Hému had abilities and force of mind sufficient to maintain his ascendancy amidst a proud and martial nobility, and to prevent the dissolution of the government, weighed down as it was by the follies and iniquities of its head.

Hému, a low Hindú, made prime minister.

Vigour and talents of Hému.

A'dili was scarcely seated on his throne before he had dissipated his treasures by the most indiscriminate profusion. When he had nothing of his own to give, he resumed the governments and jágírs of his nobles, and bestowed them on his favourites. As the Afgháns are never very capable of subordination, and are particularly jealous of any slight, the sufferers by these resumptions bore their wrongs with great impatience. On one occasion, when the king transferred the lands held by a military chief to an upstart whom he favoured, the son of the dispossessed chief started forward, and exclaimed, "What! is my father's estate to be given to a seller of dogs?" An attempt was made to force him out of the court; and the person to whom the grant had been made seized him by the throat for the purpose, when the young man drew

Oppressive measures of the king.

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his dagger, and laid the aggressor dead at his feet. Being now attacked on all sides, he ran at the king, who leaped from his throne, and had scarce a moment to pass into his seraglio when the assassin was at the door. The king, however, was able to draw the bolt, and was soon delivered from his danger by the death of his assailant. The ill consequences of the affair did not end here. On the same day, one of the principal nobles fled from the court, and, being joined by other malcontents, set up the standard of revolt near Chunár. The king marched against the rebels; but though he defeated them in action, his affairs were little improved by his success; for I'brahím Súr, a person of his own family, seized on Delhi and Agra; and the king, after a vain attempt to expel him, was forced to leave him in possession, and confine himself to the eastern portion of his dominions. This example of successful rebellion was not lost on the spectators. Secander Súr, another nephew of Shír Sháh, proclaimed himself king in the Panjáb, advanced on I'brahím, defeated him in action, and constrained him to leave Delhi and Agra. I'brahím was now driven in on the territory still in the hands of A'dili. He was met and defeated by Hému, and pursued to Biána, where he would have been captured had not Hému's attention been called off by a rebellion of Bengal. The usurper in this case was Mohammed Súr, who had been intrusted with the government of the province. By the time Hému had joined his master, he heard that Málwa

A.D. 1554, A.H. 961. Rebellions.

Separation of Delhi and the western provinces.

Revolt of the Panjáb under Secander Súr.

Revolt of Bengal.

Revolt of Málwa.

had also revolted, and that Humáyun, having again entered India, had defeated Secander, and had taken Delhi and Agra.

Notwithstanding this disastrous intelligence, Hému persevered in opposing the new king of Bengal, who had advanced to some distance from his usurped territory. Hému was again victorious, and Mohammed Súr fell in the battle.

Return of Humáyun.

The rebellions in other quarters still continued; but the most imminent danger that presented itself was from Humáyun at Agra. While preparing to engage in this new contest, Hému heard of the death of his enemy and the accession of Akber, who was then in the Panjáb. Deriving fresh courage from this change, Hému deposited his nominal king at Chunár, and set off with 30,000 men to recover the capital. His numbers increased as he advanced through a friendly country: Agra was taken after a siege, and all the Mogul troops who had been with Humáyun were assembled under Tardi Bég at Delhi. Having been defeated in the field, Tardi Bég precipitately abandoned the city; and Hému now prepared to march to Láhór, and give the last blow to the apparently discomfited invaders.

Success of Hému.

The general opinion in Akber's camp was in favour of a retreat to Cábul; but Akber, who was only in his thirteenth year, left the whole conduct of affairs to Behrám Khán; and the intrepid character of that officer preserved the hopes of the house of Teimúr. Rejecting the timid counsels of

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the other chiefs, Behrám advanced against Hému with a greatly inferior force; and after a desperate battle at Pánipat, in which Hému showed the most heroic courage, the Indian army was defeated, and Hému taken prisoner (November 5. 1556).

His defeat by Akber, and death.

With Hému A'dili lost all hope of recovering his dominions: he continued to reign for some time longer, till he was killed in a battle with a new pretender in Bengal.

Death of Mohammed A'dili.

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HUMÁYUN RESTORED.

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Reception of Humáyun in Persia.

Account of the Safavis (or Sophis).

At the time when Humáyun entered Persia the throne was occupied by Sháh Tahmasp, the second of the Safavi (or Sophi) kings. His father was descended from a family of dervises, which had derived importance and influence from its sanctity, and was still principally supported by the enthusiasm of the nation for the Shía religion, which had been widely disseminated by the family, and formally established in Persia by Sháh Ismáel, the first king of the race. Though the Shías and Sunnis differ less than Catholics and Protestants, their mutual animosity is much more bitter; and the attachment of the Persians to *their* sect is national as well as religious; the Shía faith being professed in no great kingdom but theirs. Coming so early in the succession to its founder, Sháh Tahmasp was not only a devout adherent but an ardent apostle of this new religion; and it was by his feelings in that respect that he was, in a great measure, actuated in his conduct to Humáyun. The intercourse between those princes was highly characteristic of Asiatic despots. Humáyun's reception was marked with every circumstance of hospitality and magnificence. The governor of every province received him with the highest honour, and the people of

Magnificence and hospitality of Sháh Tahmasp.

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every city came in a body to meet him; he was lodged in the king's palaces, and entertained with regal splendour; but in the midst of this studied respect, he was treated with little delicacy, and all semblance of generosity disappeared as often as he disputed the will of the Persian monarch, or became in any way obnoxious to his pride or caprice. Though welcomed from the moment of his arrival, he was not allowed to approach the capital; and many months elapsed before he was admitted to an interview with the king. During this interval, he sent his most confidential officer, Behrám Khán, on a mission to Sháh Tahmasp; and it was through a circumstance in the treatment of his envoy that he was first reminded how completely he was in the power of another.

His arrogance and caprice.

More effectually to unite his followers by some visible symbol, the first Safavi had made them wear a particular description of cap; from which the Persians took the name they now bear. This sectarian distinction was an object of as much aversion to the other Mahometans as a rosary and crucifix would have been to a Calvinist of the seventeenth century.*

Forces Humáyun to profess the Shía religion.

On one occasion of Behrám's attendance at

* The Persians generally call themselves Kazlbásh, or Red-head, from the colour of this cap. Báber attempted to introduce it among his troops at a time when he depended on the good-will of the Persians; but the measure, though unaccompanied with any religious innovation, was so unpopular as to produce a dangerous disaffection to his government. (See *Erskine's Báber*, p. 244.)

court, the king desired him to wear the cap; and on Behrám's representing that he was the servant of another prince, and was not at liberty to act without orders, Tahmasp told him "he might do as he pleased," but gave evident signs of great displeasure; and, sending for some offenders, ordered them to be beheaded on the spot, with a view to strike a terror into the refractory ambassador.

Sháh Tahmasp's meeting with Humáyun was on terms of perfect equality, and in every way suitable to his own grandeur and the dignity of his guest. Yet the two kings were scarcely seated, when Tahmasp told the king of India that he must adopt the disputed cap; and Humáyun, to whom the demand was not unexpected, at once consented with an appropriate compliment. His assuming it was announced by a triumphal flourish from the king of Persia's band, and welcomed by a general salutation to both monarchs by the Persian courtiers. Some more private conversation probably passed on the subject of religion, in which Humáyun was not so compliant; for next day, when Tahmasp was passing Humáyun's palace on a journey, the latter prince went to the gate to salute him, but the Persian passed on without noticing him, and left Humáyun mortified and humiliated. Some days after, when a large supply of firewood was sent to Humáyun, it was accompanied by a message that it should serve for his funeral pile if he refused to embrace the Shía re-

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ligion. To this the exiled prince replied with humility, but with firmness, and requested leave to proceed on his pilgrimage; but Tahmasp was inexorable, declaring that he was determined to extirpate the Sunnis, and that Humáyun must adopt the religion of the country he had voluntarily entered, or take the consequences.

After all this intimidation, a cázi deputed by Sháh Tahmasp to confer with him presented Humáyun with three papers, and told him he might take his choice which he would sign. Humáyun rejected them in succession, with indignation, and at one time started up to call his attendants. His anger was composed by the cázi, who conducted his negotiation with kindness as well as with address, and succeeded in convincing him that, although he might give up his own life for his religion, he had no right to sacrifice those of his adherents; and that his duty as well as his interest called on him to comply with a demand which he had no means of effectually resisting.

The memoir writer does not mention, and may not have known, the contents of the paper; and Abul Fazl, with courtly dexterity, passes over the whole subject of religion, and scarcely hints at a temporary misunderstanding between the kings; but it seems clear that it must have contained a profession of the Shía religion, and a promise to introduce it into India, as well as an engagement to cede the frontier province or kingdom of Candahár. This last article was carried into effect;

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and it was probably a sense of the impossibility of fulfilling the other that made Humáyun so indifferent to a rupture with Persia, when the period of performance drew near. That Humáyun himself professed to have been converted appears from a pilgrimage which he made to the tomb of Shékh Safi at Ardebíl, a mark of respect not very consistent with the character of a professed Sunni.*

After the contest about this paper, Humáyun was neglected for two months; and when Tahmasp renewed his attentions, they were not unmixed with ebullitions of an overbearing temper on points unconnected with the favourite topic of religion. Tahmasp had heard from some of Humáyun's enemies, that, during that monarch's prosperity, on some practice of divination to discover the destiny of reigning princes, he had placed the king of Persia in a class inferior to that in which he ranked himself. Tahmasp now took him to task for this assumption, and, on Humáyun's endeavouring to explain his reasons, told him that it was through such arrogance that he came to be driven out of his kingdom by peasants, and to leave his women and his child in the hands of his enemies.

Nevertheless the public conduct of the king of

* The "Muntakhib ul Tawárikh" states that the paper contained the Shía confession of faith, and that Humáyun complied with the demand for his accepting it by reading it aloud without any other sign of assent or dissent. The same book adds, that he adopted the Shía mode of reciting a portion of the public prayers, which is the most contested point between the two sects.

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Persia continued to be as cordial and as generous as ever. He gave great hunting and drinking parties in honour of Humáyun; and, when the time of that prince's departure approached, he loaded him with attentions, and on one occasion laid his hand on his heart and entreated his guest to forgive him if he had ever failed in what was due to him. He then dismissed Humáyun, with a promise that 12,000 horse should be ready to join him in Sístán. But the two kings were not destined to part without one more explosion of temper from the king of Persia. Instead of marching straight to the frontier, Humáyun loitered about different places which he wished to visit, until he was overtaken by Tahmasp, who was moving on some business through his dominions. He no sooner saw Humáyun's tents than he exclaimed, "What! has he not yet left this country?" and sent a messenger to direct him to make a march of twelve farsakhs (upwards of forty miles) without a moment's delay.

Sends an army to restore Humáyun.

In Sístán, Humáyun found 14,000 horse (instead of the 12,000 promised), under the command of the king's son, Morád Mírza. Cámrán was still in possession of Cábul. Candahár had been surprised by Hindál, but retaken; and that prince had been forgiven by his brother, and was now governor of Ghazni, the government of Candahár being intrusted to Mírza Askeri. Cámrán had also taken Badakhshán from his relation, Solimán, who had been placed there by Báber: it comprehended the south of Bactria; the northern part

of that province, including Balkh, was in the hands of the Uzbeks. Shír Sháh was still alive, and there was little to be hoped from an invasion of Hindostán.

Humáyun's own troops, while in Persia, only amounted to 700 men, and they were probably not more numerous when he marched with the Persian force against the fort of Bóst, on the river Hélmand. That place soon surrendered, and the force advanced unobstructed to Candahár (March, 1545).

The eagerness of the Persians, and their fear that Mírza Askeri might escape with his treasures, led them at first to a tumultuary attack, which was repelled by the garrison, and the siege was then opened in form. It lasted for more than five months, during which time Humáyun sent Behrám Khán to Cábul to endeavour to bring Cámrán to terms. His mission was unsuccessful; and as for a long time none of the chiefs or inhabitants of the country joined Humáyun, the Persians began to be disheartened and to talk of returning to their own country. At length things took a favourable turn: deserters of different ranks came in from Cábul; and the garrison of Candahár being reduced to distress for subsistence, many of the troops composing it escaped to their own homes, while others let themselves down from the walls and came over to the besiegers.

Taking of Candahár;

Mírza Askeri was now obliged to surrender; and, by the intervention of his aunt, the sister of

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Báber, he obtained a promise of pardon from his brother (September, 1545). But Humáyun's heart seems to have been hardened by his long misfortunes and disappointments; and his proceedings, which formerly were chiefly to be blamed for weakness, began to assume a darker character. Askeri was compelled to make his appearance before the conqueror with his sword hung naked from his neck, and to display his submission in the most humiliating forms. When this was over, Humáyun with seeming generosity placed him by his side, and showed him every mark of forgiveness and returning kindness. A great entertainment was given to celebrate the reconciliation; but when the festivity was at its height, and all fears and suspicions had been laid aside, some orders which Askeri had written to the Belóch chiefs for apprehending Humáyun during his flight to Persia were produced; and, on pretext of this long past act of enmity, he was made prisoner, and kept in chains for nearly three years.

which is ceded to the Persians,

The fort and treasures were made over to the Persians, on which the greater part of their troops returned home; and the garrison which was left under Morád Mírza began, according to Abul Fazl, to oppress the inhabitants. Abul Fazl enters on a long apologetical narrative of the events that followed; which, for its own cant and hypocrisy, as well as the perfidy of the acts it defends, is not surpassed by any thing even in the Memoirs of Tamerlane. The sum is, that the Persian prince

having suddenly died, Humáyun, still professing the most fervent attachment to Sháh Tahmasp, obtained admission on friendly terms into the city, slaughtered many of the garrison, and made an extraordinary merit of allowing the rest to return to their own country.*

but treacherously recovered by Humáyun, after the departure of the Persian army.

It is probable that the sophistical pretexts of Abul Fazl are not chargeable to Humáyun, who might plead that he was not bound to observe an engagement wrung from him by force. This argu-

* The following is a specimen of Abul Fazl's manner of relating a story like the present. It is from Col. Price's version, and though not literal, gives the spirit of the original. After enlarging on the complaints of the people of Candahár (who had never been subject to Humáyun) against the officers of their present sovereign the king of Persia, he goes on: "The generous monarch felt himself under considerable embarrassment, lest, in satisfying the demands of justice by inflicting punishment on the oppressors, he might give offence to his good ally, the king of Persia; or by suffering the guilty to escape entirely unpunished, they might be encouraged to extend their malpractices a hundred fold against the unfortunates still subject to their authority, his conscience pretty distinctly reminding him that by this latter course he should most surely incur the just vengeance of an offended God." On mature consideration of the risks of a quarrel, Humáyun stifled the reproaches of his conscience, until Morád Mírza's death afforded an opportunity for executing his design. Even then he absolutely refused to endanger the lives of the shah's troops by giving them any notice of his hostile intentions, and only consented to lull them into security, and surprise them when they were off their guard. He begged permission of the governor to send Mírza Askeri, under an escort, to be kept prisoner in Candahár. The Persian gave his consent without hesitation; and the escort being secretly supported by other detachments, seized one of the gates, on which a conflict ensued, and many of the garrison were put to the sword. (Price, vol. iv. p. 869.)

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ment, however, if admissible, as far as relates to his conversion, does not apply to the cession of Candahár. *That* was the price of the assistance of the king of Persia; and by availing himself of that assistance, after he was free from restraint, he ratified his engagement anew; and his infraction of it, especially with the concomitant circumstances, must leave him under the stigma of treachery, though not, perhaps, of ingratitude.

Taking of Cábul.

After the occupation of Candahár, Humáyun marched for Cábul, although the winter had already set in with extraordinary severity. As he advanced, he was joined by his brother Hindál; and afterwards by other deserters, in such numbers that, when he reached Cábul, Cámrán found it impossible to resist, and fled to Bakkar on the Indus, where he threw himself on the protection of Husén Arghún, prince of Sind. Humáyun entered Cábul, and recovered his son Akber, now between two and three years of age.

Expedition to Badakhshán.

After remaining for some months at Cábul, Humáyun set out to recover Badakhshán, which was again in the hands of Mírza Sólimán. Before his departure, he thought it prudent to put his cousin, Yádgár Mírza, who had just joined him, and was suspected of fresh intrigues, to death. What is remarkable in this event is, that the governor of Cábul flatly refused to carry the order into execution, and that Humáyun directed another person to perform it without inflicting any punishment on the governor.

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While Humáyun was at Badakhshán, where he remained for many months, Cámrán returned from Sind and surprised Cábul. Humáyun marched against him in the dead of winter, defeated his troops, and drove him within the walls. On this and all subsequent occasions during the siege, Humáyun put his prisoners to death in cold blood, which Cámrán retaliated by still greater cruelties, and even threatened to expose young Akber, who had again fallen into his hands, to the fire of the cannon, if they continued to batter the town.*

Cámrán recovers Cábul.

At length Cámrán was compelled to quit Cábul (April, 1547). He made his escape in the night, and fled to Górí, in the south of Bactria. Being, after some time, dislodged from thence by a detachment of Humáyun's, he had recourse to the Uzbeks at Balkh, and by their aid he recovered Badakhshán. During these operations, the summer passed, and Humáyun was constrained by the snow to defer his march from Cábul until the next spring. He then set out for Badakhshán, where Cámrán was defeated, driven into Tálekán, and,

Is driven out by Humáyun.

* Abul Fazl states that Cámrán did actually expose Akber without giving the least notice; and that it was only by the direct interposition of Providence, shown in miracles, of which he relates the particulars, that the destruction of the royal infant was averted. The account given in the text of this one fact is from the memoir writer; that author passes over most of the other atrocities on both sides; but on that subject I am afraid there is no reason for distrusting Abul Fazl. The memoir writer mentions that Cábul was given up to plunder, after the flight of Cámrán, as a punishment for the infidelity of the inhabitants; which is not noticed by Abul Fazl.

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being disappointed of the assistance he expected from the Uzbeks, reduced to surrender (August, 1548). On this occasion, Humáyun behaved with perfect good faith and humanity: he treated Cámrán with great kindness; and three of the brothers being now together, he released the fourth, Mírza Askeri, and they all assembled at a feast, where they *ate salt* together, and were, for the time, entirely reconciled.

Gives himself up to Humáyun, and is kindly treated.

Humáyun invades Balkh.

After this Humáyun returned to Cábul. Next spring (1549), he set out to attack the Uzbeks in Balkh; and he appears at last to have acquired a sufficient spirit of enterprise; for, having taken the small fort of Eibak, he immediately began to hold consultations about the conquest of Transoxiana: but, at the moment of his reaching Balkh, where he had beat off a sally of the garrison, he received intelligence that Cámrán had rebelled, and was threatening Cábul; and, on commencing his march on his return to his capital, he was so pressed by the Uzbeks that his retreat soon became a flight, and it was with difficulty that his troops made their way, in total confusion and disorder, to a place of safety. This calamity shook the fidelity of his remaining adherents; and, in a battle which took place soon after, some of his greatest chiefs deserted him; and he had nearly lost his life in the defeat which followed. On this occasion, he was wounded by a soldier of Cámrán, who was about to repeat the blow, when Humáyun called out, "You

Fresh rebellion of Cámrán.

Calamitous retreat from Balkh.

Humáyun defeated by Cámrán, and deserted by his army.

wretch! how dare you?" and the man was so confounded by the stern look of the king, that he dropped his arm, and allowed his wounded antagonist to retire (middle of 1550). Humáyun now fled with only eleven attendants, among whom was Jouher, the author of the Memoirs. He underwent many hardships, and for some time suffered from his wound: in the end he reached Badakhshán, where Mírza Sólimán, for the first time, zealously supported him. On his flight, Cámrán again took Cábul, and Akber once more fell into his hands. But in a subsequent battle, fortune proved favourable to Humáyun; Cámrán was obliged to take refuge with an Afghán tribe in the mountains of Kheiber; Cábul was taken, and all the open country restored to obedience (1551).

Cámrán again expelled.

The king soon after marched against the Khalíls, the tribe that had harboured Cámrán. He was attacked in the night by those mountaineers: his brother Hindál was killed, and he was obliged to take refuge in Bésút, a small fort in the pass between Pesháwer and Cábul. The Afgháns did not follow up their advantage; and while Cámrán was feasted in turn by successive tribes, Humáyun again took the field, defeated the Afgháns, and compelled Cámrán to fly to India; where he sought an asylum with Sultán Selím, the successor of Shír Sháh (1552). Receiving no encouragement in that quarter, he fled to the Sultán of the Gakkars, and was ultimately betrayed by him to Humáyun,

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three years after his last expulsion from Cábul* (September, 1553).

Taken, A. D. 1553, September; A. H. 961, Háuzán;

Though Cámrán's repeated offences would have justified his immediate execution, they do not in the least reconcile us to the treatment he received when given up.

Humáyun had come into the Gakkar territory to receive the prisoner; and Cámrán, when brought before him, advanced with great humility; but Humáyun received him graciously, seated him on his right hand, and soon after, some water melon being handed round, he gave half of the piece he had taken to his brother. In the evening there was an entertainment, with singers, and the "night was passed" in "jollity and carousing."† Next day passed in the same manner: during the course of it, some of his counsellors asked Humáyun what he intended to do with his brother? and he answered, "Let us first satisfy the Gakkar chief, and then I will do what is thought proper."

and blinded.

On the third day the Gakkar chief was satisfied; and it was determined that Cámrán should be blinded. The author of the Memoirs, having been ordered to attend on the prince, describes the particulars of his misfortune. At first, no person was willing to undertake the duty, and the king had given the order just as he was setting off on his march. One officer rode after him, and told him in Túrki the difficulty that had arisen; on which the king reviled him, and asked why he had not done

* Memoirs, p. 105. † Ibid. p. 104.

it himself? On the officer's return, the order was made known to Cámrán with many expressions of sorrow, and the operation was performed by piercing his eyes repeatedly with a lancet. Cámrán bore the torture without a groan, until lemon juice and salt were squeezed into his eyes, when he called out, "O Lord, my God! whatever sins I have committed have been amply punished in this world; have compassion on me in the next."

After witnessing this part of the scene, the author could no longer remain: he went on to the camp, and sat down in his tent in a very melancholy mood. On this the king sent for him, and asked why he had come away without orders? The author replied that the business was completed, and the king told him he need not go back; and immediately gave him an order about some trifling business, without further noticing what had passed. He probably felt more shame than pleasure at the intelligence; and, indeed, the circumstances are important, rather as showing the effects of his situation than his own disposition, of which they are not otherwise characteristic than in the indecision and the wish to go on smoothly to the last. He was not naturally either cunning or cruel; and if he had been a limited monarch in Europe, he would most likely not have been more treacherous or bloody than Charles II.

After this transaction, Humáyan was desirous of proceeding to Cashmír; but, hearing of the advance of Selím Sháh, he retreated to Cábul, and spent

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the next year at that place and Candahár: during that period, Cámrán was allowed to go to Mecca, where he soon after died.

In the mean time, Selím Sháh had died; and the misgovernment of his successor had broken up his territories into five portions, in each of which there was a separate king.

Secander Sháh, to whose share the Panjáb had fallen, had since attacked I'brahím, the usurper of Delhi and Agra, and had driven him from his territories, while A'dili, the real sovereign, was carrying on operations against both. Circumstances could not, therefore, have been more favourable to Humáyun; but the recollection of former misfortunes seems to have excited gloomy forebodings about India; and it was not till he was encouraged by omens as well as arguments, that Humáyun could make up his mind to the enterprise. When he had undertaken it, he executed it with alacrity: he set out from Cábul with 15,000 horse (January, 1555): he invaded the Panjáb, defeated Secander's governor, and took possession of Láhór, where he remained for some time to settle the province.

Humáyun marches to recover India.

At Sirhind he engaged Secander, who had advanced to meet him at the head of a large army. Humáyun gained a decided victory, and immediately took possession of Delhi and Agra, while Secander fled to the mountains under Hémaláya.

Defeats Secander Súr.

Takes Delhi and Agra.

The latter prince, not long after, again issued from his retreat, and Behrám Khán was sent along with Prince Akber to the Panjáb to oppose him.

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His death.

Humáyun, though thus restored to his capital, had recovered but a small portion of his original dominions, and even that he did not live to enjoy. In less than six months after his return to Delhi, he met with an accident which occasioned his almost immediate death. He had been walking on the terrace of his library, and was descending the stairs (which, in such situations, are narrow steps on the outside of the building, and only guarded by an ornamental parapet about a foot high). Hearing the call to prayers from the minarets, he stopped, as is usual on such occasions, repeated the creed, and sat down on the steps till the crier had done. He then endeavoured to rise, supporting himself on his staff; the staff slipped on the polished marble of the steps, and the king fell headlong over the parapet. He was stunned at the time; and, although he soon recovered his senses, the injury he had received was beyond cure. On the fourth day after his accident he expired, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and twenty-sixth of his reign, including the sixteen years of his banishment from his capital.

His unsettled reign left little time for internal improvements; and it is marked by no domestic event of importance, except the death of the celebrated Persian historian, Khóndemír, who had come to Báber's court soon after his invasion of India, and died in the camp of Humáyun during his expedition to Guzerát.

BOOK VIII.

STATE OF INDIA UP TO THE ACCESSION OF AKBER.

CHAP. I.

HISTORY OF THE BAHMANI KINGDOM OF THE DECKAN, AND ITS SUBSEQUENT DIVISIONS.

BOOK VIII.

As we have reached the epoch at which the whole of India was formed into one empire, and a considerable alteration was made in the relations of different classes of the inhabitants, the time seems suitable for reviewing the preceding transactions of the separate communities, and ascertaining their actual condition at the commencement of the change.

States formed on the dissolution of the empire under Mahmúd Tóghlak.

The empire of Delhi, in the reign of Mohammed Tóghlak, extended to the Hémaláya mountains on the north-east, and to the Indus on the north-west; on the east and west it reached the sea; and on the south it might be said to include the whole of the peninsula, except a long narrow tract on the south-west, the frontier of which would be imperfectly marked by a line drawn from Bombay to

Raméshwar. But within these limits, one large space was unsubdued and another unexplored. CHAP. I.

This last was the kingdom of Orissa, a tract of forest which extended nearly from the mouth of the Ganges to that of the Godáveri, near 500 miles, and ran inland for a depth of from 300 to 400 miles. The imperfectly conquered part was the Rájpút territory, a still more extensive tract in the north-west of India.

During the disorders produced by the misgovernment of Mohammed Tóghlak, the rájas of Télingána and Carnáta restored those territories to the Hindús. The former prince had not long before been driven from Warangól, and compelled to retire to the south; and he now returned to re-occupy his old possessions. The other was of a new family, who set themselves up in the place of the Beláls, and fixed their capital at Bijáyanagar, on the Tumbrada. These two rájas soon reduced the Mussulman frontier to the Kishna on the south, and the meridian of Heiderábád on the east. They also brought the more southern parts of the peninsula into dependence, and formed states capable of contending on equal terms with their Mahometan neighbours. The western state, that of Bijáyanagar, was the most considerable from the first. It was of much longer duration than the other, and before its fall had attained a pitch of power and splendour, not, perhaps, surpassed by any previous Hindú dynasty since the Mahometan invasion.

This re-conquest, which took place in A. D. 1344,

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was preceded by the revolt of Bengal (about A. D. 1340); and succeeded (in A. D. 1347) by the grand rebellion of the Deckan, by which the power of Delhi was driven across the Nerbadda.

The death of Mohammed Tóghlak (A. D. 1351) for a time put a stop to further dismemberment; but towards the end of the century, during the minority of Mahmúd (the last Tóghlak king), Guzerát, Málwa, and Júanpúr proclaimed their independence; the latter kingdom being formed of the country on the Ganges, from Bengal to the centre of Oud. The invasion of Tamerlane soon followed (A. D. 1398): the remaining provinces threw off the yoke; and the territory of Delhi was reduced to a few miles near the capital.

The recovery of some parts of these lost dominions has already been related; and I shall now explain their progress during the intermediate period, and the position in which they stood at the accession of Akber.

The first place is claimed by the kingdoms of the Deckan.

CHAP. I.

Bahmani Kings of the Deckan. *

BAHMANI KINGS OF THE DECKAN.	A.D.	A.H.
Hasan Gangu (or Alá u dín)	1347	748
Mohammed I.	1358	759
Mujáhid	1375	776
Dáúd	1378	780
Mahmúd I.	1378	780
Gheiás u dín	1397	799
Shams u dín	1397	799
Fírúz	1397	800
Ahmed I.	1422	825
Alá u dín	1435	838
Humáyun	1457	862
Nizám	1461	865
Mohammed II.	1463	867
Mahmúd II.	1482	887
NOMINAL KINGS.		
Ahmed II.	1518	924
Alá u dín II.	1520	927
Wali	1522	
Kalím	1526	

Hasan Gangu†, the first king of the Deckan, was an Afghán of the lowest rank, and a native of Delhi. He farmed a small spot of land belonging to a Bramin astrologer, named Gangu, who was in favour with the king; and having accidentally found a treasure in his field, he had the honesty to give notice of it to his landlord. The astrologer was so much struck with his integrity that he exerted all his influence at court to advance his fortunes. Hasan thus rose to a great station in the Deckan, where his merit marked him out among his equals to be their leader in their revolt. He had before assumed the name of Gangu, in gratitude to his benefactor;

Founded by Hasan Gangu, an Afghán of Delhi.

* The accounts of the inferior Mahometan dynasties, where not otherwise specified, are taken from Ferishta, who has written a separate history of each (vols. ii., iii., and iv. of Col. Briggs's translation).

† The royal title assumed by Hasan was *Alá u dín*; but to distinguish him from other kings of the same name, I have retained his original appellation.

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and now, from a similar motive, added that of Bahmani (Bramin), by which his dynasty was afterwards distinguished. He fixed his capital at Culbarga.

The revolt of the rája of Warangól, and the foundation of the new government of Bijáyanagar, were favourable to the insurgents at first, as they increased the embarrassments of Mohammed Tóghlak; the rája of Warangól also sent a body of horse to assist Hasan Gangu in his final struggle; but their establishment cut off a large portion of the Mussulman dominions towards the south, and soon led to boundary disputes which involved them in an unceasing war with the new monarchy.

Wars with the Hindús.

After the death of Hasan Gangu, these wars, especially that with Bijáyanagar, continued, almost without intermission, until the end of his dynasty. They did not for a long time make much alteration in the Hindú and Mahometan limits: the rájas of

A.D. 1461, A.H. 865.

Orissa and Télingána at one time made their way to the gates of Bidr, which was then the capital: but the Mahometans were gainers on the whole; they occupied most of the country between the Kishna and Tumbadra; and in A.D. 1421, the Bahmani king, Ahmed Sháh, took permanent possession of Warangól, and compelled the rája of Télingána to relinquish his ancient capital.

At length, in the reign of Mohammed II., the last of the Bahmani kings who exercised the functions of sovereignty, Amber Rái, a relation of the

A.D. 1471, A.H. 876.

rája of Orissa, applied to the Mussulman prince to

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assist him in asserting his right to that government, promising, in the event of success, to become his tributary, and to cede to him the districts of Rájamandri and Cóndapili at the mouths of the Kishna and Godáveri. Mohammed accepted the offer, and sent an army to support the pretender. Amber Rái was put in possession of Orissa, and the two districts were made over to the Mussulmans, and occupied by their troops. Amber Rái subsequently endeavoured to regain possession of the districts he had ceded; when Mohammed moved against him in person, invaded his country, reduced him to submission, and after settling Rájamandri and Cóndapili, carried his arms to the southward along the coast; annexed Masulipatam to his dominions, and pushed his incursions to the celebrated temple of Cánchí, or Conjeveram, near Madras, which he plundered.

A.D. 1477, A.H. 882. Conquest of Rájamandri and Masulipatam.

The same king met with equal success on the opposite coast of India, his minister having acquired possession of the Concan, the tract between the western Ghâts and the sea from Bombay to Goa. The Bahmani kings had been occupied in this conquest for more than forty years, and had suffered severe losses in that rugged and woody country, and, after all, were never able perfectly to subdue it.

Partial conquest of the Concan. From A.D. 1469, to A.D. 1471, A.H. 874, to A.H. 876.

These long wars, on tolerably equal terms, appear to have had some effect in mitigating the overbearing conduct of the Mahometans towards the Hindús.

Increased intercourse with the Hindús.

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Notwithstanding the close connection of Hasan Gangu with a Bramin, his son, Mohammed I., gave no quarter to Hindús in battle, and made a vow to carry on war until he had put 100,000 of that religion to death; but this barbarity disgusted his own troops; and so serious were their remonstrances, that the king made a vow never again to kill a prisoner in cold blood: and thenceforward, according to Ferishta, that part of the laws of war was observed to people of all sects.

The last real king, Mohammed II., having killed a Bramin with his own hand, it was remarked that he was the first of his race that had thus outraged the sacred order; and the ruin of the family was ascribed, even by the Mussulmans, to this inauspicious action.

One of the Bahmani kings made it an article of a peace with the rája of Bejáyanagar that he should give his daughter to the king in marriage; and the connection, though commenced in violence, must have contributed to the blending of the people of the two religions. The more frequent admission of Hindús into confederacies formed by Mahometan princes against each other, must also have assisted to do away distinctions.

Men of both religions seem freely to have entered into each other's service: the flower of the king of Málwa's army, during an invasion of the Bahmani territories, is said to have consisted of 12,000 Afgháns and *Rájpúts*, while Deó Rái, rája of Bijáyanagar, recruited Mahometans, assigned

lands to their chiefs, and built a mosque at his capital expressly for their encouragement.

Rivalry between the Shía and Sunni sects in the court and army.

The domestic history of the Bahmani dynasty is much influenced by the rivalry between the foreign and native troops. In most Asiatic despotisms, the king first trusts to the army against the people, and then to a body of foreign household troops, or Mamlúks, against the rest of the army; and these Mamlúks, in the end, usurp the government. In the Deckan the course was different: the army which placed the Bahmani dynasty on the throne was chiefly composed of foreigners, and there seems to have been no guard more trusted to than the rest. In time, the native troops increased in number, and so nicely balanced the foreigners, that neither party ever obtained a permanent influence over the government.

At the time of the separation from Delhi, many of the foreign troops were probably Mogul converts; in later times, according to Ferishta, they consisted of Persians and Túrks, Georgians, Circassians, Calmucs and other Tartars; the greater part of them were of the Shía sect; and the contest with the native troops was probably more between Shías and Sunnis than between parties arising from difference of race. The latter party, or Deccanis, as they were called, were always joined by the Abyssinian mercenaries, who came in numbers by the sea ports on the western coast.*

* The Persian or Mogul party also chiefly received their

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These parties reached the highest pitch of animosity in the reign of Alá u dín II., in A. D. 1437. They occasioned continual jealousy and distraction, and were as injurious to the government by their intrigues at court as by their want of co-operation on service. They were kept in control under vigorous administrations; but towards the end of the dynasty, Mahmúd, a weak prince, was alternately the tool of the foreigners, whose chief was Eusof A'dil Khán, a Túrk, and of the Deccanis, then under Nizám ul Múlk Behri, the son of a converted Hindú. The Deccanis having gained the ascendancy, Eusof A'dil retired to his government of Bíjapúr, where he afterwards took the title of king, and founded the dynasty of A'dil Sháh.

States formed out of the Bahmani dominions.

Bíjapúr. About A. D. 1489, A. H. 895.

Nizám ul Múlk being afterwards assassinated by Kásim Baríd, a Túrk, his son Ahmed set up a separate dynasty called Nizám Sháh, the capital of which was Ahmednagar.

Ahmednagar. A. D. 1490, A. H. 896.

Kásim Baríd was now the master at the court of Mahmúd; and two other great chiefs became independent, although they did not, for some time, take the title of king. These were, Kútb Kúli, a Túrkman, from Persia, and Imád ul Múlk, descended from Hindú converts: the former founded the dynasty of Kútb Sháh, at Golcónda, close to Heiderábád; and the latter that of Imád Sháh, at E'lichpúr in Berár. Amír Baríd, the son of Kásim,

Golcónda. A. D. 1512, A. H. 918.

Berár. Perhaps A. D. 1504, A. H. 910.

recruits by sea. It is difficult to account for the little influx of Arabs.

CHAP. I.

governed for some time under a succession of pageants: at length he threw off the mask, and was first of the Baríd kings of Bidr; the family of Bahmani being thenceforth no longer mentioned.

Bidr. A.D. 1549, A.H. 945.

The Bahmani kings were several times engaged in wars with those of Cándésh and Málwa, generally on the frontiers of Berár: on one occasion (A.D. 1461-2), the king of Málwa advanced to Bidr, then the capital, and might have taken it, but for the timely aid of the king of Guzerát.

Dynasty of Á'dil Sháh at Bíjapúr.

FOUNDED BY EUSOF ÁDIL SHÁH, A TURKISH SLAVE.

	A.D.	A.H.
Eusof A'dil Sháh	1489	895
Ismáel A'dil Sháh	1510	915
Mallú A'dil Sháh	1534	941
I'brahím A'dil Sháh - -	1535	914
Alí A'dil Sháh -	1557	965
I'brahím A'dil Sháh II. - -	1579	987

Eusof A'dil Sháh claimed an illustrious descent, supported by a plausible history. The Indian historians represent him as son of the Ottoman Sultan Amurath, and brother to Mohammed II., the conqueror of Constantinople. They relate that he was an infant at the accession of Mohammed, that he escaped being put to death with the rest of his brothers by the contrivance of his mother, and was by her means conveyed to Persia.

Being obliged to fly from Persia at the age of

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sixteen, on account of some suspicion of his birth, he was inveigled to the Bahmani court, and there sold as a slave.

He rose, according to the course of Mamlúk adventurers, until he assumed the crown, as has been related.

From that time he was occupied in resisting Kásim Baríd, the usurper of the Bahmani government, and in seizing the possessions of other chiefs around, who, like him, were endeavouring to assert their independence. He was also engaged in wars with the rája of Bijáyanagar, in which, on the whole, he was successful. His conquests acquired solidity from a sort of partition treaty with the other two new kings (of Ahmednagar and Berár), by which the title of each to his possessions was recognised.

Extent of the kingdom.

A notion of the extent of his kingdom may be gained by assuming the Bíma and Kishna rivers for his boundary on the east, the river Tumbadra on the south, the sea from near Goa to near Bombay on the west, and perhaps the Níra river on the north.

Attempt to introduce the Shía religion.

He afterwards involved himself in fresh troubles by his zeal for the Shía religion, which he had imbibed in Persia from some of the immediate followers of Shékh Safi. He declared that faith to be the established religion of the state; and by a proceeding so unexampled in India, he caused much disaffection among his own subjects, and produced a combination of all the other Maho-

metan kings against him. He showed great resolution in supporting himself against this confederacy, and great skill in disuniting the members; but it was only by renouncing his innovations in religion that he was able, at last, to reconcile himself to all his opponents.

Religious factions.

His son Ismáel was a minor at his death. The minister who acted as regent planned the usurpation of the government; and with this view put himself at the head of the Sunni or native faction, and depressed and discharged the foreigners. His plan having failed, the young king became as violent a Shía, formed his army entirely of foreigners, and would enlist no Indian, unless he were the son of a foreigner, a Pitán*, or a Rájpút. He affected foreign manners, and always used the Persian and Túrki languages in preference to that of the Deckan.†

I'brahím, the fourth king (the third having only reigned six months), was a zealous Sunni, and discharged all the foreign troops. They were recalled by his son Ali, an enthusiastic Shía. During the minority of Ali's son, I'brahim II., there was a struggle between the factions, in which, at length, the Sunnis prevailed.

Rise of the Marattas.

A change of more importance than these revolutions of sects was the rise of the Marattas. These

* A name often applied by the Indians to the Afgháns, but more generally to the Indian descendants of that people.

† Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 72. The remark shows that Deckani (a dialect of Hindostani) was the usual language of the Mussulmans in the beginning of the sixteenth century.

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Hindús, having fallen completely under the kings of Ahmednagar and Bijapúr, in consequence of the extinction of their own rája of Deógíri, were treated as subjects, and employed without distrust. Eusof, the first A'dil Sháh, is said to have given a command of 12,000 infantry to a Maratta chief*; and in the subsequent reigns they shared the fortunes of the natives, being entertained in great numbers whenever that party prevailed. They were known under the name of Bérgís, were often horse, and by their light and predatory operations contributed to introduce the system of defence to which (as will hereafter appear) the Bijapúr government always had recourse when attacked.

A remarkable innovation was introduced by I'brahím (the fourth king). He directed the public accounts to be kept in the Maratta language instead of the Persian. Considering that this was the language of all the village accountants, and that the body of the officers of revenue and finance were also generally Hindús, it is surprising that the improvement was not introduced sooner, and more extensively copied.

Wars with the other Mahometan kings.

There were constant wars and shifting confederacies among the Mussulman kings; in both of which the rája of Bijáyanagar often took a part, as did the kings of Cándésh and Guzerát, the latter with much weight. In all these wars the constant enemy of the A'dil Sháh was the Nizám Sháh of

* Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 84.

Amednagar, their hostility being caused by rival claims to the possession of Sólapúr and some other districts on the left bank of the Bíma.

League against Bijáyanagar.

At length, the four great Mahometan governments, A'dil Sháh, Nízám Sháh, Baríd, and Kútb Sháh, formed a league against Rám Rája, then ruling at Bijáyanagar. A great battle took place on the Kishna, near Tálicót, which, for the numbers engaged, the fierceness of the conflict, and the importance of the stake, resembled those of the early Mahometan invaders. The barbarous spirit of those days seemed also to be renewed in it; for, on the defeat of the Hindús, their old and brave rája, being taken prisoner, was put to death in cold blood, and his head was kept till lately at Bijapúr, as a trophy.

A. D. 1565, Jan. 25.; A. H. 972, Jamadi u Sani 20.

Battle of Tálicóta.

This battle destroyed the monarchy of Bijáyanagar, which, at that time, comprehended almost all the south of India. But it added little to the territories of the victors; their mutual jealousies prevented each from much extending his frontier; and the country fell into the hands of petty princes or of those insurgent officers of the old government, since so well known as zemíndárs or poligárs.*

Fall of the kingdom of Bijáyanagar.

The brother of the late rája removed his residence further east, and finally settled at Chandragíri, about seventy miles north-west of Madras,

* Briggs's Ferishta, vol. iii. pp. 127. 414. Wilson, Mackenzie Collection, vol. i. p. cli. Wilkes's Mysore, vol. i. p. 18.

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at which last place his descendant first granted a settlement to the English, in A. D. 1640.*

Wars with the Portuguese.

Among the other wars of the A'dil Sháhi kings, those with the Portuguese are mentioned by the native historians with affected negligence. They state that Goa was lost under Eusof, retaken by that king in person, and lost again under his son Ismáel†; but as the kings of Bijapúr and Ahmednagar afterwards made a simultaneous attack on the Portuguese at Goa and Choul (A. D. 1570), and were both repulsed, it is evident that they could not have been insensible to the formidable character of their antagonists.‡

This confederacy, as well as the battle of Tálicóta, was subsequent to the accession of Akber. When that emperor first interfered effectually in the affairs of the Deckan, the last mentioned king, I'brahím II., had emerged from a long minority, and was taking an active part in the internal disputes of Ahmednagar.

A. D. 1595, A. H. 1004.

* Rennell's Hindostan, p. 291.

† This was the second capture by Albuquerque in 1510.

‡ Briggs's Ferishta, vol. i. p. 134. Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 77.

CHAP. I.

Dynasty of Nizám Sháh at Ahmednagar.

FOUNDED BY AHMED, A HINDÚ CONVERT.

	A. D.	A. H.		A. D.	A. H.
Ahmed	1490	896	Ismáel	1588	997
Burhán	1508	914	Burhán II.	1590	999
Husén	1553	961	Ibrahím	1594	1003
Murtezza	1565	972	Ahmed II.	1594	1004
Mirán Husén	1588	996	Bahádur	1595	1004

The father of Ahmed, the founder of the Nizám Sháhi dynasty, was a Bramin of Bijapúr. Having been taken prisoner, and sold for a slave to the Bahmani king, he was converted, and rose to the first dignity in the state, and his son declared himself king (as has been related) on the dissolution of the Bahmani government. So far were his descendants from being ashamed of their origin, that they had frequent wars with the kings of Berár for the possession of Pátrí, a village in the latter country, to which their Bramin ancestors had been hereditary accountants. In the same spirit Burhán (who was the second king) appointed a Bramin, named Káwar Sein, to be his péshwa, or prime minister, and derived great advantage from the confidence he reposed on him. This dynasty imitated that of Bijapúr in employing Marattas, but not to the same extent. Those in their service were chiefly infantry, and much employed as garrisons in hill forts.

Religious factions.

Their liberality to other religions did not save

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the Nizám Sháhs from the influence of the sects in their own. The second king openly professed the Shía religion; and, although assailed by tumults within, and a combination of the orthodox kings around, was more successful than his neighbour at Bijapúr, and made good the establishment of his own sect.

A.D. 1587, A.H. 944.

A change took place in consequence of the murder of Mírán Husén, the fifth king, the foreigners by whom that act was effected being massacred, and the Sunni religion introduced.

A.D. 1568, A.H. 996.

A feud, however, broke out among the Sunnis themselves under the sixth king, Ismáel, in consequence of a powerful prime minister declaring for a new sect called Mehdeví, or Gheir Mehdi, which is very odious to the other Mussulmans. It may have been owing to this division that we find the native Deckanis and the Abyssinians on different sides in the dissensions which ultimately destroyed the monarchy; but those dissensions had not much of a religious character.

A.D. 1588, A.H. 997.

Wars with the other kings of the Deckan.

The share of the Ahmednagar governments in the wars and confederacies of the other kings has been noticed. It had also wars of its own with Cándésh and Berár, the last of which kingdoms it subverted, in A.D. 1572, and annexed the territory to its own. Previous to this success, the Nizám Sháhi king was subjected to a great humiliation, having been besieged in his capital by Bahádur Sháh, king of Guzerát, and compelled to acknow-

ledge his superiority, and to do homage to him in very submissive forms.* CHAP. I.

A still greater degradation awaited his successor, who was besieged in Ahmednagar, by Rám Rája of Bijáyanagar, then combined with Bíjapúr, and reduced to accept an interview with him on terms of marked inferiority. A.D. 1530, A.H. 937.

It was the pride displayed by Rám Rája, on this and some other occasions, that led to the general combination against him, the result of which has been already mentioned. A.D. 1565, A.H. 972.

It gives a great idea of the power of Ahmednagar, although on an unfortunate occasion, that in one campaign against the A'dil Sháh, the king lost upwards of 600 guns. Many of these may have been mere swivels, but one was the famous cannon now at Bíjapúr, which is one of the largest pieces of brass ordnance in the world.† Miscellaneous facts.

Ferishta mentions the great prevalence of duels (an uncommon practice in Asia) under this dynasty. They were occasioned by the most trifling disputes: it was reckoned dishonourable to decline them, and no blame was attached to the death of

* On this occasion Bahádur Sháh showed his superiority by speaking Guzeráti, his own language, and the Nizám Sháh replied in Persian, which might be considered as common to both.

† Briggs's Ferishta, vol. iii. p. 243. This gun is four feet eight inches in diameter at the muzzle. The calibre is two feet four inches (Grant Duff, vol. i. p. 112.); it is only fifteen feet long (Colonel Sykes, *Bombay Transactions*, vol. iii. p. 62.); and weighs forty tons (Colonel Briggs, above quoted).

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the parties, provided the combat was a fair one. Ferishta himself witnessed a meeting of this sort, in which there were three on each side, and five of the combatants grey-bearded men, and in considerable estimation at court. Three were killed on the spot, and the survivors died of their wounds.* These duels were always fought with sabres.

Extent of the kingdom.

At its greatest extent the kingdom of Ahmednagar comprehended all that is now called the Subah of Aurangábád, and all the west of that of Bérar. It also possessed a portion of the sea coast in the Concan, between the tracts belonging to Guzerát and Bíjapúr.

Dynasty of Kútb Sháh at Golcónda.

FOUNDED BY KÚTB KÚLI, A TÚRKMAN SOLDIER.

	A. D.	A. H.		A. D.	A. H.
Sultán Kúli -	1512	918	Ibrahím - -	1550	957
Jamshíd - -	1543	940	Mohammed Kúli	1580	988
Subhán Kúli -	1550	957			

Sultán Kúlí Kútb Sháh, the founder of the dynasty, was a Túrkman of Hamadán in Persia. He claimed descent from the head of his clan, and he certainly came to India a free man in quest of military service. He entered the guards of the Bahmani king, distinguished himself on many occasions,

* Briggs's Ferishta, vol. iii. p. 208.

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and was governor of Télingána when the monarchy broke up. It is not certain when he assumed the royal title, but he was king in substance from A. D. 1512, A. H. 918.

Kúth professes the Shía religion.

He openly professed the Shía religion from his accession, and met with no opposition in introducing it into his dominions.

Extent of his kingdom.

At the end of a long reign he left a territory extending from the Godáveri to beyond the Kishna, and from the sea to a line drawn west of Heiderábád about the seventy-eighth degree of east longitude. The north-western districts of this territory were fragments of the Bahmani kingdom, and those on the south-west were gained from Bijáyanagar; but by far the greater part of Sultán Kúli's conquests were from the remains of the Warangól family and other chiefs of Télingána. He gain[ed] a great victory at Cóndapilli over all those chiefs united, with the addition of the rája of Orissa; and although the rája of Bijáyanagar afterwards endeavoured to support the cause of his religion, the government of Warangól was never restored, nor the Mahometan power disturbed within the limits above mentioned.

Wars with the other Mahometan kings.

Sultán Kúli was sometimes interrupted in his operations against the Hindús by attacks from his Mussulman neighbours, especially Ismáel A'dil Sháh. He however took a much less active share than the rest in the wars among the kings of the Deckan.

He was murdered at the age of ninety by his

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son, Jamshíd, who succeeded him, and reigned for seven years. The third king was a minor, and only reigned a few months; but I'brahím, the fourth of the line, reigned thirty years, and his time was marked by most of the few important transactions of the dynasty.

I'brahím, the fourth king.

He had a Hindú minister named Jagdeó, and most of his infantry and all his garrisons were composed of Telingas of the same religion. Jagdeó quarrelled with his master, fled to Berár, and was

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there appointed to a great command. He afterwards went over to Rám Rája of Bijáyanagar, and by his influence a combination, formed between the rája, Ali A'dil Sháh, and Ali Baríd Sháh, was enabled to overrun a great part of I'brahím's country, and shut him up in his capital: peace was however restored, and I'brahím afterwards joined in the general confederacy against Rám Rája.

The Kútb Sháhi kings took part in the wars and alliances of the other Mahometan monarchs, in which they are generally connected with the kings of Ahmednagar; but these occasioned no permanent change in their condition: their aggrandisement was always at the expense of the Hindús. I'brahím took advantage of the disturbances in Orissa, and the invasion of that country from Ben-

Conquests on the coast of Coromandel.

gal, to recover Rájamandri and the country north of the Godáveri, up to Chicacól, which had been seized by the Hindús on the dissolution of the Bahmani kingdom; and his successor, Mohammed Kúli, carried on his conquests to the south of the

Kishna, and added Gandicóta, Cadapa, and the rest of the country, up to the river Penár, to his dominions.

It was this last king who built Heiderábád. He at first gave it the name of Bhágnagar (by which the Hindús call it still), and to it he transferred his capital from the neighbouring site of Golcónda.

Mohammed Kúli reigned for many years after Akber's capture of Ahmednagar, but his situation was little affected by those remote transactions.

Dynasty of Imád Sháhi in Berár.

FOUNDED BY FATTEH ULLAH, DESCENDED FROM A CONVERTED HINDÚ.

	A. D.	A. H.		A. D.	A. H.
Fatteh Ullah -	1484	890	Burhán (perhaps)	1560	968
Alá u dín - -	1504	910	Tufal		
Deria (about)	1529	936			

The little that is known of this small kingdom has found a place in the history of the neighbouring states. It extended from the Injádri hills to the Godáveri: on the west it bordered on Ahmednagar and Cándésh, about the middle of the seventy-sixth degree of east longitude. On the east its limits are uncertain, but probably did not take in Nágpúr.

Though Fatteh Ullah exercised sovereign au-

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thority, yet Alá u dín seems first to have taken the title of king.*

During the minority of Burhán Imád Sháh, who probably succeeded about 1560, his prime minister, Tufal, usurped the government, and the state merged in that of Ahmednagar in A. D. 1572, A. H. 980.

Dynasty of Baríd Sháh at Bidr.

	A. D.	A. H.		A. D.	A. H.
Kásim - -	1498	904	Kásim II. -	1569	997
Amír - -	1504	910	Mírza Ali -	1572	1000
Ali - - -	1549	945	Amír II.		
I'brahím -	1562	990			

The Baríds derived some importance at first from appearing as the ministers and representatives of the Bahmani kings; but the illusion was not kept up beyond the life of Kásim: neither he nor Amír took the title of king.

Their territories were small and ill-defined, and the period of their extinction is uncertain.

Amír II. was reigning in A. D. 1609, A. H. 1018, when Ferishta closed that part of his history.

* This is variously related in different places of Ferishta; but see vol. iii. p. 350, 351.

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OTHER KINGDOMS FORMED ON THE DISSOLUTION OF THE EMPIRE.

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GUZERÁT and Málwa became independent during the feeble reign of Mahmúd Tóghlak, and probably assumed the name of kingdoms after that title was abolished in Delhi, on the invasion of Tamerlane. Cándésh, which had not joined the rebellion in the Deckan, afterwards followed the example of its northern neighbours.

But although the revolt of the three provinces was simultaneous, it was not made in concert; and whatever connection afterwards subsisted between their histories arose out of their wars rather than their alliances.

Guzerát.

KINGS OF GUZERÁT.

	A. D.	A. H.		A. D.	A. H.
Mozaffer Sháh	1396	799	Secander Sháh	1526	932
Ahmed Sháh	1412	815	Mahmúd Sháh II.	1526	932
Mohammed Sháh	1443	847	Bahádur Sháh	1526	932
Kutb Sháh	1451	855	Mírán Mohammed Sháh Farukhí	1536	943
Dáúd Sháh reigned one week			Mahmúd Sháh III.	1553	961
Mahmúd Sháh Bégara	1459	863	Ahmed Sháh II.	1561	969
Mozaffer Sháh II.	1511	917	Mozaffer Shah III.	1561	969

Description of Guzerát.

Guzerát is bounded on the north-east and east by a hilly tract which connects the A'ravalli moun-

tains with the Vindya chain; on the south it has the sea, which nearly surrounds a part of it, and forms a peninsula equal in extent to all the rest of the province; on the west it has the desert, including that portion called the Rin. The only open part of the frontier is on the north-west, where a plain between the hills and the desert connects it with Márwár.

The northern hills are steep and rugged; and the branches which they send out towards the south are covered with thick woods, as are the numerous ravines which run from their base to the principal rivers. The country gradually gets more open as it recedes from the mountains, and the lower part stretching for about sixty miles in depth along the sea is a plain of extraordinary fertility.

The peninsula is sometimes distinguished from the rest of Guzerát, and was formerly called Sóreth (or Sourashtra), now Kátiwár.

It is for the most part composed of low hills, and is, in general, naked and unfertile; but there are separate plains on the sea which extend to a great distance inland, and are rich and open.

Nearly in the south is a hilly district, called Bábriawár, which is covered with woods.

Original extent of the kingdom.

When Guzerát separated from Delhi, the new king had but a narrow territory on the plain. On the north-west were the independent rájas of Jhálór and Siróhí, from whom he occasionally levied contributions. The rája of I'dar, another Rájpút prince, was in possession of the western part of the

hills; and though he was often obliged to pay contributions, and sometimes regular tribute, yet those advantages were seldom gained without a struggle; and he was a constant source of disturbance to the king of Guzerát, by joining his enemies and harbouring fugitives from his country.

The rest of the hilly and forest tract was held by the mountain tribes of Bhíls and Cúlis, among whom some Rájpút princes, mostly connected with Méwár, had also founded petty states.*

The peninsula was in the hands of nine or ten Hindú tribes, who had mostly come from Cach and Sind, at different periods, some centuries before. They were, probably, tributary; but by no means obedient. All these petty states preserved their existence during the ascendancy of the Moguls, and were, within a few years from the date when I am writing, almost as independent as under the kings of Guzerát. The real possessions of those kings, therefore, only included the plain between the hills and the sea; and even of that the eastern part belonged to an independent rája, who resided in the hill fort of Chámpanér. On the other hand the Guzerát territory stretched along the sea to the south-east, so as to include the city of Surat and some of the country beyond it.

With these small means, the kings of Guzerát made, at least, as considerable a figure as any of

* Dóngarpúr, Bhánswára, &c.: these subsist to the present day.

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the minor kings, except the Bahmani family, in the Deckan.

Mozaffer Sháh.

Founded by Mozaffer, the son of a Rájpút convert.

Farhat ul Mulk was appointed governor of Guzerát in the reign of Fírúz Tóghlak. Having given great offence to the Mussulmans of the provinces, and even excited the suspicions of the court of Delhi, by the means he took to court the Hindús, he was displaced by Mahmúd II., and

A.D. 1391, A.H. 791-2.

Mozaffer Khán was appointed in his room. Farhat opposed the entrance of the new governor with an army chiefly composed of Hindús; he was defeated, and Mozaffer took posession.* Mozaffer was the son of a Rájpút convert, who had risen from a low station about the court to the highest offices. He had himself been brought up a Mussulman and a nobleman, and appears to have been rather desirous of making his origin be forgotten by hostility to the Hindús.

It is uncertain when he took the title of king. His reign commenced in reality from the time

A.D. 1391, A.H. 793.

when he became governor. He was successful in his wars. He occupied I'dar, and brought the

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rája to submission. He fought a great battle in the peninsula; after which he took and retained Diu, on the sea coast: he went to war with the king of Cándésh, about the district of Sultánpúr;

* Mr. Bird's History of Guzerat, p. 181. and notes.

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and although hostilities were often renewed in after reigns, yet, for his time, the question was favourably settled.

He once besieged Mandalghar, in Méwár, and extorted a contribution: he proceeded from that place to Ajmír, on a pilgrimage; and on his way back plundered Jhálór, and destroyed the temples.

His occupation and subsequent evacuation of Málwa.

His greatest war was with Málwa. Hushang Sháh, the second king, was suspected of poisoning his father; and as Mozaffer had been on very friendly terms with the deceased, he made the revenge of his murder a pretext for invading Málwa. He was successful beyond his hopes: he defeated Hushang, made him prisoner, and got possession of the whole of his kingdom. He soon found, however, that he could not retain his conquest; and perceiving that the inhabitants were about to set up another king, he thought it prudent to get what he could from his prisoner, and to restore him to the throne. During Mozaffer's government, Mahmúd Tóghlak came to Guzerát, on his flight from Delhi: he was ill received, and obliged to repair to Málwa.

A.D. 1407, A.H. 810.

A.D. 1408, A.H. 811.

Ahmed Sháh. A.D. 1411, A.H. 814.

His wars with Málwa and his Hindú neighbours.

Hushang Sháh did not feel his restoration as a favour, for on the death of Mozaffer he took part with a faction opposed to the accession of that king's grandson, Ahmed Sháh, and began a series of wars between the two countries that lasted for many years. Ahmed Sháh thrice invaded Málwa, and once penetrated to Sáranpúr, in the east of the kingdom, where he gained a victory. On the

A.D. 1422, A.H. 825.

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other hand, the king of Málwa assisted Ahmed's enemies, Hindú as well as Mahometan; combined with the refractory rájas within the territory of Guzerát, and twice made his way to the capital, but without any important result.

Ahmed Sháh made, also, the usual expeditions against I'dar, Jhálór, and the peninsula; and had two wars with Cándésh. On one occasion, he marched as far as Nágór, in the north of Márwár, where his uncle was in revolt against Seiad Khizr, of Delhi. He was obliged to retreat on the advance of that prince, and was pursued as far as Jhálór.*

And with other Mahometan kings.

A.D. 1416, A.H. 819.

He was also engaged with a new enemy, in consequence of the capture of the islands of Bombay and Salsette, by the Bahmani king of the Deckan, during an attempt to subdue the Concan.†

A.D. 1429, A.H. 833.

It does not appear how those places came into the hands of the king of Guzerát. It may be inferred that they were detached possessions, as the expedition to recover them was made by sea. The Bahmani king was driven out; but remained hostile, and more than once joined the king of Cándésh in his wars with Ahmed Sháh. Notwithstanding all these disturbances, Ahmed Sháh brought the interior of Guzerát into good order. He established forts in different places, to bridle the disaffected; and built the town of Ahmednagar

* Ferishta, vol. i. p. 509., vol. iv. p. 18., and Bird's Guzerát, p. 189.

† Briggs's Ferishta, vol. ii. p. 413. A somewhat different order is given to the same events in vol. iv. p. 27.

(the solid and extensive walls of which still remain), as a check on the rája of I'dar. He also founded Ahmedábád, thenceforth his capital, and still one of the greatest cities in India, both from the number of the inhabitants and the magnificence of the buildings.*

Ahmed Sháh was a zealous Mussulman. He destroyed temples and built mosques; and is said to have greatly contributed to extend his religion among his subjects.

Mohammed Shah. A.D. 1449, A.H. 853.

Kútb Sháh. A.D. 1451, A.H. 855.

His wars with Méwár.

The usual contests with Málwa and I'dar continued under the two next kings, Mohammed Sháh and Kutb Sháh. The second of them (Kutb Sháh) commenced a more serious war with Kúmbho, the rána of Méwár, whose capital was Chitór. Méwár had been invaded by Ahmed Sháh in the time of Mókal, the predecessor of Kúmbho; but the present war originated in the support given by Kutb Sháh to his relation in Nágór against the Rájpút prince, who was laying the foundation of that great power, afterwards employed by his grandson Sanga against Báber. In these wars the king of Guzerát had almost invariably the advantage. He gained two victories; besieged Chitór; took A'bú, a mountain celebrated for its sanctity, and subdued the rája of Siróhi, one of Kúmbho's allies.

A.D. 1457, A.H. 861

* Ahmed Sháh is said to have introduced the practice of giving to each soldier, land to the yearly value of half his pay, the whole having previously been issued in money. The measure is spoken of by the Guzerát historian with applause, although it appears calculated to injure both the discipline and the comfort of the soldier. (*Bird's History.*)

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Dáúd Khán.

A.D. 1459, A.H. 863.

Mahmúd Bégarra.

A.D. 1459, to A.D. 1511.

His vigorous government.

On the death of Kútb Sháh, his uncle, Dáúd Khán, was placed on the throne. He was deposed within a few days for incapacity, and became an eminent dervise. He was succeeded by Mahmúd, surnamed Bégarra, a brother of Kútb Sháh. Mahmúd was fourteen years old at his accession; reigned for fifty-two years, and was one of the greatest of the kings of Guzerát.* He soon showed his vigour in repressing the turbulence of his nobles; and at an early period of his reign he made a diversion in favour of the former enemy of his house, the Bahmani king of the Deckan, when besieged in his capital, and reduced to extremities by the king of Málwa.

He rescues the Bahmani king of the Deckan.

A.D. 1462, A.H. 866.

Marches to the Indus.

His territory having been harassed by depredations from Cach, he crossed the Rin, overran that country, carried his arms to the Indus, and defeated a considerable body of Belóches on its banks.

* The European travellers of his day seem to have formed a tremendous idea of this monarch. Bartema (in Ramusio, vol. i. p. 147.) and Barbosa are both full of him. One of them gives (Ramusio, vol. i. p. 296.) a formidable account of his personal appearance, and both agree that a principal part of his food consisted of mortal poisons; and so impregnated was his system with this diet, that if a fly settled on him it instantly dropped down dead. His usual way of putting men of consequence to death was to blow on them after he had been chewing bitel. He is the original of Butler's "Prince of Cambay," whose

"——— daily food
Is asp, and basilisk, and toad."

The fate of his wives is related with perfect seriousness by the above authors.

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His greatest exploits were, the reduction of Girnár, or Júnaghar, and of Chámpanér. The first of these places (Girnár) is in the south of the peninsula, and stands on a hill equally remarkable for its strength and sanctity.

Takes Girnár and Chámpanér.

These enterprises occupied several years*, and afforded examples of the usual desperation of the Rájpúts, and of more than ordinary bigotry among the Mussulmans. The rája of Girnár was compelled to embrace the religion of Mahomet, and the rája of Chámpanér was put to death for a firm adherence to his own.

Mahmúd also quelled insurrections at home, and levied tribute on I'dar. In one of his wars with Cándésh, he marched as far as Asírghar; and, on a previous occasion, he had obliged the Nizám Sháhi king of Ahmednagar, in the Deckan, to raise the siege of Doulatábád.

His wars with Mahometan kings.

A.D. 1507, A.H. 913.

A.D. 1499. A.H. 905.

But what chiefly distinguishes him from former Mussulman princes is the number of his maritime expeditions. He took the islands of Jígat and Bét, then, as in recent times, nests of pirates; and sent out vessels mounting guns from Cambay, which defeated the pirates of Balsár in an action at sea.

His maritime power.

A.D. 1482, A.H. 887.

He also sent a sea and land force against Bombay, then occupied by a revolted officer of the Bahmani king. On this occasion, his fleet was destroyed in a storm, and he owed his recovery of

* Girnár was annually attacked from A.D. 1468 to 1470, A.H. 873 to 875, and Chámpanér was not taken till A.D. 1483, A.H. 888.

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Bombay to the co-operation of the king of the Deckan.

A. D. 1494, A. H. 900. He co-operates with the Mamlúks of Egypt in a naval war with the Portuguese.

He had afterwards a more conspicuous opportunity for signalising his naval enterprise. The Mamlúk Sultan of Egypt had equipped twelve ships in the Red Sea, for the purpose of attacking the Portuguese in India, and Mahmúd entered zealously into his views. He sailed, himself, to Damán, and afterwards to Bombay; and at length sent a large fleet from Diu, under the command of A'iáz Sultáni, an officer who had distinguished himself at Chámpanér. The Guzerát vessels, though much inferior in size to those of the Mamlúks, were numerous; and the combined fleets were strong enough to attack the Portuguese squadron in the harbour of Choul, south of Bombay. The particulars of the operations that followed belong to the history of the Portuguese. It may be sufficient to say, here, that the Mussulmans were successful in this first action, and that A'iáz is mentioned with applause by the Portuguese writers for his humanity and courtesy on the occasion. The combined fleet was afterwards defeated, and the Mamlúk part of it annihilated, in a great battle close to Diu.*

A.D. 1508, A.H. 913.

* The Mahometan historians suppress this defeat, and say very little of their wars with the Portuguese, even when their own party was successful. Three or four years after this battle, an interview took place between Albuquerque and A'iáz, and the character of the latter, given by the Portuguese viceroy, is related in Faria (vol. i. p. 193.). "He said he had not seen a more perfect courtier, or fitter to deceive, and at the same time please, an understanding man."

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The Mamlúks, however, continued to send squadrons to the Indian seas, a practice which was imitated by the Turks after their conquest of Egypt. Their object was to open the navigation of the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf; and for this purpose they assisted the native powers of India in their wars with the Portuguese; but they never entertained any views towards obtaining possessions for themselves in that country.

Mozaffer II. A.D. 1511, A.H. 917.

The reign of Mozaffer II. opened with a splendid embassy from Sháh Ismáel, king of Persia. The same compliment was paid to most of the Indian princes, and was probably designed to conciliate their favour to the Shía religion, which Ismael was so eager to introduce.

Generosity to the king of Málwa.

The next six years were spent in inglorious wars with I'dar. A more honourable enterprise presented itself at the end of that time. Mahmúd, king of Málwa, having been almost entirely deprived of his authority by Médni Rái, a Hindú chief to whom he had confided the management of his affairs, fled to Guzerát, and solicited the aid of Mozaffer, who went in person into Málwa, took the capital, compelled Rána Sanga, who was coming to the aid of the Hindú cause, to retreat; and, after restoring Mahmúd to his authority, withdrew to Guzerát without exacting any sacrifice in return.

A.D. 1519, A.H. 924. War with Sanga, rána of Méwár.

He had not long quitted Málwa before Sanga returned, defeated Mahmúd, and made him prisoner, but generously released him, and made an honourable peace. Sanga was now able to revenge him-

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self on Mozaffer II., by marching to the assistance of the rája of I'dar, and plundering Guzerát as far as Ahmedábád.

Next year, Mozaffer II. retaliated by sending an army, under A'iáz Sultáni, against Sanga. A'iáz besieged the rána in Mandesór, and had granted him terms, when the king of Málwa arrived to co-operate with his army. The king earnestly pressed A'iáz to profit by this advantage; but A'iáz was steady to his engagement, and withdrew his troops in spite of the king's remonstrances.

A.H. 932. Mozaffer II. died in A. D. 1526, after a reign of fourteen years.

Bahádur. The rapid disappearance of two sons and successors of Mahmúd (whose names were Secander and Mahmúd II.) left the throne open to Bahádur. This prince, though only the third of Mahmúd's sons, seems always to have been looked on as the probable heir of his father: on some discontent, however, he had left the court and gone to Delhi, where he remained with Sultán I'brahím Lódi until Báber's invasion. His absence occasioned his temporary exclusion; but the assassination of one brother and the deposal of the other replaced him in his station. He had still to encounter opposition from a third brother, who was assisted by Sanga and some other Hindú chiefs. This last pretender being killed in action, Bahádur remained the only claimant to the throne.

His first measure was to reduce the Rájpút princes of I'dár and the neighbouring mountains.

He was soon after solicited by his nephew, the king of Cándésh, to come to his assistance and that of the king of Berár, who had confederated against Burhán Nizám Sháh of Ahmednagar.

Takes part in the wars of the Deckan.

The whole conduct of the war was conceded to Bahádur, and his permanent supremacy was formally acknowledged by the other kings. So successful were his operations, that Nizám Sháh, though joined by Baríd Sháh, king of Bídr, was obliged to yield the points in contest with Cándésh and Berár, and to gratify the vanity of Bahádur Sháh, by an act of personal homage, as has been mentioned in another place.

His supremacy acknowledged by the kings of Cándésh, Berár, and Ahmednagar.

Bahádur's next enterprise was attended with a still more splendid result. Mahmúd, king of Málwa, who had been restored to his throne by Mozaffer II., was not restrained by that obligation from intriguing against the son of his benefactor; and with equal ingratitude he seized the opportunity of Rána Sanga's death to attack his successor, Rána Rattan Sing. The rána was before in close alliance with Bahádur Sháh, and they now united to revenge their common injuries. Mahmúd was made prisoner in Mándu, his capital, and was sent to Guzerát. He was afterwards put to death; and his dominions were taken possession of by Bahádur Sháh, and annexed to his hereditary kingdom.

Conquest of Málwa, and its annexation to Guzerát.

A.D. 1531, February; A.H. 937, Shábán.

Bahádur had not sufficient moderation long to enjoy so much good fortune. One of the principal instruments of the revolution in Málwa was Silhadi,

Troubles in Málwa.

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a Rájpút, who had risen under Mahmúd to the government of Ráisín, Bhilsa, and other places in the east of Málwa, to which he had since added the possession of Ujén.

Bahádur Sháh appears to have thought his conquest incomplete, while so powerful a chief remained, especially as Silhadi was in some measure under the protection of the rána of Méwár. He therefore made him prisoner while on a visit to the royal camp; and, taking advantage of the surprise occasioned by this act of treachery, got possession of the city of Ujén: Bópat Rái, the son of Silhadi, fled to Chitór; and Ráisín, a strong hill fort, belonging to that chief, held out under his brother.

It was long before Bahádur could overcome the opposition thus raised; and he might have entirely failed in doing so, if Rattan Sing, the rána of Chitór, had not died and been succeeded by his son, Vicramajít, under whom that government lost much of its energy.

During Bahádur's absence on this expedition, a serious attack had been made on Diú by a great armament of the Portuguese, but had been repulsed by the valour of the garrison (Feb. 1531).

War with Méwár.

A. D. 1532, A. H. 938.

Having taken whatever measures were necessary against this enemy, Bahádur Sháh again turned his attention to Chitór. So much was the power of Méwár diminished, that he commenced his operations with the siege of the capital; and at the end of three months constrained the rája to purchase peace by the payment of a heavy contri-

bution.* It was about this time that Bahádur Sháh provoked the war with Humáyun, the result of which has already been related.† During Bahádur's abode at Diú, he entered into negotiations with the Portuguese. Among other concessions, he gave them leave to build a factory; and they furnished him, in return, with a body of 500 Europeans, to assist him in recovering his kingdom. As soon as Guzerát was settled after the retreat of the Moguls, Bahádur Sháh again turned his attention to Diú, where the Portuguese were surrounding their new factory with a wall, and, as he conceived, converting it into a fortification. He there found Nuno de Cunha, the Portuguese viceroy, who had come with a fleet to secure his new acquisition. Remonstrances and explanations took place, to appearance on a friendly footing; but both the Mussulman and Portuguese historians justify the belief that treachery was meditated by both parties, and that each was watching an opportunity to execute his design. Nuno de Cunha, when invited to visit the king, feigned sickness; and Bahádur, to lull his suspicions, went on board his ship with a few attendants. When on board, Bahádur

A.D. 1533, A.H. 940. War with Humáyun, and expulsion of Bahádur.

Bahádur recovers his kingdom.

Disputes with the Portuguese at Diú.

Interview with the Portuguese viceroy.

* Among the property given up on this occasion, was a girdle of jewels, which had been taken from a former king of Guzerát, and which was afterwards sent with Bahádur Sháh's family to Medina, and found its way at last into the treasury of the grand signor. (Colonel Briggs's note on Ferishta, vol. i. p. 141.) For the date of this first siege, see *Bird's History of Gujrát*, p. 246. note.

† See p. 125.

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Death of Bahádur.

Sháh was alarmed at some whispering and signs which passed between the viceroy and his attendants, and, taking a hasty leave, got into his boat to go ashore. An affray took place, which the Portuguese represent as accidental, and the Mussulmans as designed; and the result was, that several lives were lost on each side, and that Bahádur Sháh threw himself into the sea, and, after being stunned by a blow of an oar, was dispatched with a halbert.

As both parties equally held that faith was not to be kept with infidels, neither has the slightest claim to a favourable construction; but Bahádur could have had no immediate act of perfidy in view when he came on board unattended; and as the object of the Portuguese must have been to seize and not to murder the king, it is unlikely that they would, if prepared for such a step, have allowed him to leave the ship. The affray, therefore, probably arose unintentionally from the mutual alarm of the parties: if either was guilty of premeditated treachery, the greatest weight of suspicion rests on the Portuguese.*

A.D. 1537, A.H. 943.

Bahádur Sháh's natural heir was his nephew Mahmúd, the son of Latíf Khán, who had formerly been his rival; but that prince was a prisoner in the hands of his cousin by the mother's side, Míran Sháh, king of Cándésh; and the latter availed himself of the circumstance to claim the crown for

Míran Mohammed Sháh.

* See a full and judicious examination of the accounts of both parties in a note on Colonel Briggs's Ferishta, vol. iv. p. 132.

himself. He, however, died a natural death within six weeks; and, as his brother, who succeeded in Cándésh, though in possession of the same advantages, was not so fortunate in profiting by them, Mahmúd was at length set at liberty, and allowed to take possession of his right.

Mahmúd III. A.D. 1538, A.H. 944.

He took the title of Mahmúd III., and had a reign of sixteen years, remarkable for nothing but the intrigues and factions of his chiefs. His death was attended with circumstances sufficiently out of the ordinary course: he was assassinated by his domestic chaplain, whom he had at one time ordered to be built up to the neck in a wall and left to starve, and had released when nearly dead, on his attempting, even in that extremity, to bend his head to the king as he passed. The chaplain, after the murder, sent for the principal nobles, and put each privately to death as he appeared. He then assumed the crown; but, as might have been expected, was put to death by the remaining officers the moment he presented himself in public.

A.D. 1553-4, A.H. 961.

Mahmúd III. built the castle of Surat, which still remains; and likewise inclosed a park of fourteen miles in circumference with a wall; an unusual work in a country where deer and game of all sorts are so abundant.

Amed II.

A supposititious child was now set up by a party under the name of Ahmed II. He lived to grow up, and probably to have a will of his own, for he was assassinated after a reign of eight years.

A.D. 1561, A.H. 969.

Mozaffer III.

A similar pageant was next set up under the

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title of Mozaffer III., and the kingdom was partitioned among the leading conspirators. Dissensions broke out among them, and the country became a scene of continual war, confusion, and tumult, until finally settled by Akber, as will appear in his reign.

Guzerát conquered by Akber. A.D. 1572, A.H. 980.

Málwa.

FOUNDED BY DILÁWAR, OF A FAMILY FROM GHÓR.

KINGS OF MÁLWA.	A.D.	A.H.
Diláwar Ghóri	1401	804
Husheng Ghóri	1405	808
Mohammed Ghóri	1432	835
Mahmúd Khilji	1435	839
Gheiás u dín Khilji	1482	887
Násir u dín Khilji	1500	906
Mahmúd II. Khilji	1512	916

It has been mentioned that Málwa became independent at the end of the reign of Sultán Fírúz Tóghlak. The first king was Diláwar Ghóri, whose ancestors were natives of Ghór, and who claimed through his mother a connection with the royal family of that country.

His successor founded the capital, Mándu, remarkable for its situation on a rich table land of thirty-seven miles circumference, surrounded by rocky precipices, as well as for the magnificence of its buildings.*

Wars in Hindostan and the Deckan.

He was engaged in those constant wars with Guzerát, which have already been related in the

* Sir J. Malcolm's Central India, vol. i. pp. 29. 40.

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account of that kingdom. His successors were generally at peace with Guzerát; but they had frontier wars with the king of Júanpúr on the Jamna, and with the king of Cándéslr on the Taptí. They had also wars with the Bahmani kings in Berár; and they once laid siege to Bídr, the capital of the last named monarch (A.D. 1461). One king, Mahmúd I., besieged Delhi, and was defeated by Behlól Lódi, as has been related. The same prince began a series of wars with Kúmbho Sing, the rája of Chitór or Méwár; but, although they lasted upwards of fifteen years, involved other Hindú princes, and led to many battles and sieges, they made no material changes in the extent of the Mahometan territory.

From A.D. 1407, A.H. 810, to A.D. 1432, A.H. 835.

A.D. 1440, A.H. 844.

From A.D. 1443, A.H. 846, to A.D. 1458, A.H. 863.

The reign of Mahmúd II. was more fertile in events than all that preceded it, and deserves to be more particularly noticed.

Mahmúd II.

Immediately on the accession of this prince he was engaged in a civil war with his brother, Sáhib Khán, in which his success was principally owing to the support of a Rájpút chief named Médni Rái, who joined him at the commencement with a considerable body of his tribe. The struggle was long and arduous, and was renewed, after an interval with assistance to the pretender from the king of Delhi; but the courage and talents of Médni Rái again prevailed.

A.D. 1512, A.H. 916.

Ascendancy of Médni Rái, a Hindú chief.

These long-continued services gave the Rájpút chief a complete ascendancy over his master, and threw the whole administration of the government

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into his hands. The superiority thus conferred on a Hindú excited universal discontent among the Mahometans, and led to the rebellion of several governors of provinces, who were crushed in succession by Médni Rái.

By the results of these contests Médni Rái became all-powerful, removed every Mahometan from about the king's person, and filled the court and army with Rájpúts. Mahmúd at length became alarmed; and, after an unsuccessful attempt to recover his authority, he felt that he was a prisoner in his own capital, and seized an opportunity of escaping to Guzerát. Mozaffer Sháh, king of that country, came to his assistance. The war lasted for more than a year: Mándu, the capital, was taken after a desperate defence by the Rájpúts; and the king of Guzerát, having restored Mahmúd to his authority, returned to his own dominions. Médni Rái had retired to Chandéri, of which place he was perhaps the hereditary chief. Mahmúd marched against him, and found him strengthened by the alliance of Rája Sanga, who had come with the whole of his army to defend Chandéri.

A.D. 1517, A.H. 923. Mahmúd flies to Guzerát.

A.D. 1519, A.H. 924. Is restored by Bahádur Sháh.

A battle ensued, in which Mahmúd was defeated; and as, although weak in other points, he was distinguished for his courage, he endeavoured to maintain the combat until he was covered with wounds, unhorsed, and made prisoner. The Rájpút prince treated him with courtesy, and after a short interval generously released him.

Is defeated,

taken prisoner, and released by Sanga, rána of Méwár.

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The mean spirit of Mahmúd was incapable of imitating the magnanimity of his enemy. On the death of Sanga he thought to avail himself of the difficulties of a new reign by attacking Rattan Sing, the son of the late rája. Rattan Sing applied to Bahádur Sháh, who had succeeded Mozaffer on the throne of Guzerát, and who had likewise reason to complain of the ingratitude of the king of Málwa. Mahmúd, unable to withstand so powerful a confederacy, saw his capital taken by Bahádur Sháh, and was afterwards himself made prisoner: when the kingdom of Málwa was permanently annexed to Guzerát.

His ingratitude.

A.D. 1525, A.H. 932.

He is defeated, and his kingdom annexed to Guzerát.

A.D. 1531, A.H. 937.

Cándésh.

FOUNDED BY MALIK RÁJA, A PERSON OF ARAB DESCENT.

FARÚKHI KINGS OF CÁNDÉSH.

	A.D.	A.H.
Malik Rája		
Nasír Khán (first king) - -	1399	801
Mírán A'dil Khán	1437	841
Mírán Mobárik	1441	844
A'dil Khán I. -	1457	861
Dáúd Khán -	1503	909
A'dil Khán II. -	1510	916
Mírán Mohammed Sháh - -	1520	926
Mírán Mobárik	1535	942
Mírán Mohammed Khán - -	1566	974
Rája Ali Khán -	1576	984
Bahádur Sháh -	1596	1005

The kingdom of Cándésh was merely the lower part of the valley of the Tapti (the upper part being included in Bérár); on the south it had the hills which support the table land of the Deckan, and

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on the north the Injádri range. It was only separated from Guzerát by forests. It was a rich country, watered by innumerable streams. Its history is almost entirely comprised in the small portion which its wars and alliances contributed to that of the neighbouring countries.

The first prince who threw off his dependence on Delhi claimed a descent from the Calif O'mar. He was married to the daughter of the king of Guzerát, from whom his son received the title of king, and to whom both he and his successors acknowledged a sort of subordination.

There is nothing to mention in their domestic history, except the taking of the strong hill fort of Asírghar by treachery from a Hindú chief, and the founding of the city of Burhánpúr near that fortress. Burhánpúr was made the capital. It is still a large city; and the ruins of public edifices around it show it to have been formerly much more considerable. The whole of Cándésh, indeed, seems to have been in a high state of prosperity under its own kings: the numerous stone embankments by which the streams were rendered applicable to irrigation, are equal to any thing in India as works of industry and utility; and, whether they were made by the Hindús or the kings of Cándésh, they must have been in use under the latter, though now in ruins and buried in woods.

Prosperity of Cándésh.

Cándésh was reannexed to Delhi by Akber, in A. D. 1599.

Conquered by Akber. A. D. 1599, A. H. 1008.

The Rájpút States.

Change in the condition of the Rájpúts after the Mahometan conquests in India.

The Rájpúts, who at the time of Sultán Mahmúd's invasion were in possession of all the governments of India, sunk into the mass of the population as those governments were overturned; and no longer appeared *as rulers*, except in places where the strength of the country afforded some protection against the Mussulman arms.

Those on the Jamna and Ganges, and in general in all the completely conquered tracts, became what they are now; and, though they still retained their high spirit and military figure, had adapted their habits to agriculture, and no longer aspired to a share in the government of the country.

The remains of Rájpút independence were preserved on the table land in the centre of Hindostan, and in the sandy tract stretching west from it to the Indus. The degree of independence was in proportion to the strength of the country. Méwát, Bundélcand, Bághélcand, &c. lie on the slope towards the Jamna, and, though close to the level country on that river, are rough and broken: it is there that we find the tributaries so often in insurrection, and there also are the forts of Rintimbór, Gwáliór, Cálinjer, &c., the taking and retaking of some of which seem to occur in almost every reign. The open part of the table land is partially protected by this tract: it is easier of access from the north about Jeipúr, which prin-

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cipality has always been submissive. Ajmír and Málwa, on the open part of the table land, were early conquered and easily retained. The east part of the rána of Oudipúr's country (or Méwár) was equally defenceless, but he had an inexpugnable retreat in the A'ravali mountains, and in the hills and forests connected with them, which form the northern boundary of Guzerát. The rája of Jódpúr (or Márwár), with his kinsman the rája of Bíkanér, the rája of Jésalmér, and some smaller rájas, were protected by the desert, with which the fertile parts of their territories are interspersed or surrounded.

The government of the Rájpúts, partly feudal and partly clannish, their high sense of honour, and their strong mutual attachment, have already been explained *, and had not degenerated in Akber's time.

State of the remaining Rájpút princes at the accession of Akber.

The state of the different governments, at the accession of that monarch, was as follows: —

Méwár.

The family and tribe of the rána of Oudipúr (which were first called Gehlót, and afterwards Sesódia,) are said to be descended from Rámá, and, consequently, to draw their origin from Oud. They were afterwards settled in the peninsula of Guzerát, from whence they moved to I'dar, in the hills north of that province; and ultimately established themselves at Chitór, Colonel Tod thinks early in the eighth century of our æra. They

* See Vol. I. p. 606.

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make no figure in history until A. D. 1303, when Chitór was taken by Alá u dín, and almost immediately after recovered by the rána. Hamír, by whom that exploit was performed, had a series of able successors, and by their means Méwár attained the ascendancy among the Rájpúts, which enabled Sanga to bring them all into the field against Báber. CHAP. II.

The great defeat sustained in that contest weakened the power of Sanga's family, and at a later period it was so much reduced by the incapacity of his grandson, Bicarmajít, that Bahádur, king of Guzerát, was able to take Chitór, and would have turned his success to account, but for his defeat by Humáyun, which immediately followed the capture of Chitór. From that time till the accession of Akber, the ránas remained in quiet possession of their territory, and retained their high rank among the Rájpút princes, though they never recovered their political ascendancy, and were compelled, in the reign of Shír Sháh, to acknowledge the sovereignty of the king of Delhi.

The next Rájpút state in importance was that of the Ráhtórs in Márwár, the capital of which was Jódpúr. The Ráhtórs were in possession of Canouj when that kingdom was subverted by Shaháb u dín in A. D. 1194. After the conquest, part of the Ráhtórs remained on the Ganges, and occasionally revolted against the Mussulmans, until they became reconciled to the yoke; but another portion, under two grandsons of the last king, pre- Márwár.

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ferred their liberty to their country, and retired to the desert between the table land and the Indus. They there subdued the old inhabitants of the race of Jats, dispossessed some small tribes of Rájpúts, who had preceded them as colonists, and soon formed an extensive and powerful principality. A younger branch of the royal family at a later period (A. D. 1459) founded the separate state of Bíkanír, and occupied an additional portion of the desert. The Ráhtórs do not seem to have been molested by the Mussulmans until the expedition of Shír Sháh against Máldeó, and probably recovered their independence after that storm was blown over. Máldeó was still alive in the beginning of Akber's reign.

Bíkanír.

Jésalmér.

In the western part of the desert were the Bhátțís, under the rája of Jésalmér. The Bhátțís claim to be of the tribe of Yádu, and consequently derived from Mattra on the Jamna. They were part of Crishna's colony in Guzerát, and were expelled after the death of that hero. They then retired towards the Indus, and are lost in an unusually thick cloud of Rájpút fable, until they appear at Tánót, north of Jésalmér, and within fifty miles of the Indus. From this period (which Colonel Tod thinks was in A. D. 731) their annals assume a historical character, but are marked by no important event, except the removal of their capital, in A. D. 1156, to Jésalmér. They came very little in contact with the Mussulmans till after Akber's time.

CHAP. II.

Ambér or Jeipúr.

The rájas of Ambér, or Jeipúr, of the tribe of Cachwahá, have, in modern times, stood on an equality with the rána of Oudipúr and the rája of Jódpúr; but their rise into distinction is since the accession of Akber. They were ancient feudatories of Ajmír, and probably remained in submission to the Mahometans after the conquest of that kingdom. They may have increased their consequence during the weakness of the neighbouring governments in the fifteenth century, for they must have been held in consideration when Akber married the rája's daughter.

Háráuti.

The rájas of the tribe of Hára, who give their name to Háráuti, claim descent from the family that ruled in Ajmír before the Mahometans; and settled in their present possessions, of which Búndi was then the capital, in A. D. 1342. They were in some degree of feudal dependence on Oudipúr. They are not noticed in Mahometan history till just before Akber, when the reigning rája obtained the famous fort of Rintimbór from the governor who had held it for the Afghán kings.

Petty states in the desert.

Besides these greater states, there were several petty principalities, as the Chouháns of Párker, the Sódas of Amercót, &c., which, being in the extreme west of the desert, were beyond the reach of Mussulman invaders; and those of Siróhi Jhálór, &c., which, lying in the fertile tract beneath the A'ravalli mountains, and on one road from Ajmír to Guzerát, were liable to constant invasion and exaction of tribute.

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Petty states on the east of the table land.

On the eastern slope of the table land, Méwát, Gwáliór, Narwar, Panna, Orcha, Chandéri, and other places in Bundélcand, had been repeatedly attacked by Báber and Shír Sháh, and were all tributary at the time of Akber's accession. They were mostly held by old Rájpút families.

Bengal.

	A. D.	A. H.
Fakhr u dín*	1338	739
Alá u dín	1340	741
Háji Eliás (or Shams u dín)	1342	743
Secander	1357	759
Gheiás u dín	1367	769
Sultán u Salátín	1374	775
Shams u dín II.	1383	785
Rája Káns	1386	788
Jit Mal (or Jelál u dín)	1392	795
Ahmed	1409	812
Násir u dín	1426	830
Násir	1426	830
Bárbik	1428	832
Eusof	1445	849
Fatteh	1461	866
Sháhzádeh	1481	886
Fírúz	1481	886
Mahmúd	1493	899
Mozaffer	1494	900
Alá u dín II.	1497	904
Nasrat	1521	927
Mahmúd	1534	940
Shír Sháh	1537	945
Selím	1545	952
A'dili	1548	955
Bahádur	1553	961
Jelál u dín	1560	968
Sólimán Kirání	1563	971
Báyazíd	1573	981
Dáúd	1573	981

The kingdom of Bengal went on for upwards of two centuries after its revolt from Mohammed Tóghlak, with frequent changes of dynasty, but without events worth recording. Among the

* The early dates in this dynasty are uncertain. Ibn Batúta left Delhi in A. D. 1342, and found Fakhr u dín alive in Bengal at least a year or two after.

usurpers was Rája Káns, a Hindú zemindár. His son embraced the Mahometan religion.

This kingdom seems at one time to have comprehended North Behár. It included Sundergong (Dacca): Jájnagar (Tipera) was tributary: Assám was occasionally plundered: Catak and the adjoining parts of Orissa were not acquired till just before the extinction of the state.

It was conquered by Shir Sháh, as has been related, and was in the hands of a revolted officer of one of his successors at the time of Akber's accession.

Júanpúr.

	A. D.	A. H.		A. D.	A. H.
Khája Jehán	1394	793	Mahmúd	1440	844
Mobárik	1399	802	Mohammed	1457	862
Khodáya	1401	804	Husén	1457	862

Khája Jehán, the vizir at the time of Mahmúd Toghlak's accession, seems to have been unable to retain his ascendancy during the minority, and to have retired to his government of Júanpúr, and made himself independent. Four of his family followed him in succession, and carried on wars with the kings of Málwa and Delhi. They twice besieged the latter capital; but, at length, their government was subverted, and their territory restored to Delhi by Behlúl Lódi in A. D. 1476.

It was soon occupied by Báber after his con-

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quest; was taken by Shír Sháh; and, after fall of his dynasty, passed through different han till conquered by Akber early in his reign.

It stretched along the Ganges from Canouj, o the north-west, to the frontier between Bengal an South Behar on the south-east.

Sind.

After the expulsion of the Arabs (A. D. 750) Sind, from Bakkar to the sea, remained in th hands of the Sumera Rajputs, until the end of the twelfth century; when the reigning family became extinct, and the government, after some changes, fell into the hands of another Rajput tribe, called Sama.

It is uncertain when the Sumeras first paid tribute to the Mahometans; probably, about the beginning of the twelfth century, under Shaheb-u-dín Ghóri, or his immediate successors.

The early Samas seem to have been refractory, for one was invaded by Firúz Tóghlak, as has been related (about A. D. 1361). The Samas were soon after converted to the Mahometan religion; and kept the country till expelled by the Arghúns, who held it at Akber's accession.

Multán.

Multán revolted during the confusion which followed the invasion of Tamerlane. It fell into the hands of an Afghán family of the name of Langa, who held it for about a century.

Early in the sixteenth century, they were dispossessed by the Arghúns of Sind, who were, in their turn, expelled by Prince Cámrán, and Multán fell under the house of Teimur.

State of the other parts of India.

Of the other provinces once belonging to Delhi, it need only be said that they all became independent after the invasion of Tamerlane; and, although Behlól Lodi, Báber, Humáyun, and Shír Sháh had recovered many of them, yet at Akber's accession (with the exception of the Panjáb, the possession of which was contested by Secander Súr,) they were all in the hands of adherents of the Afghán government.

The petty states under the Hémaláya mountains, from Cashmír inclusive to the Bay of Bengal, were independent under sovereigns of their own.

Many mountain and forest tribes throughout India were unsubdued, though they could scarcely be called independent: they were left out of the pale of society, which they sometimes disturbed by their depredations.

CHAP. III.

INTERNAL STATE OF INDIA.

BOOK VIII.

Internal state of the Mahometan empire. The king's power.

Of the internal state of the Mahometan empire in India we have no means of obtaining more than a slight view.

The king's power was absolute. He was considered as bound to observe the Mahometan law; but neither the U'lemá nor any other public body had the means of enforcing his obedience to it: the municipal institutions of villages, some local jurisdictions which will be mentioned, and some other means of passive resistance, obstructed his will on ordinary occasions; but when he was determined to persevere, there was no remedy short of rebellion.

His ministers.

The duties of vizír, or prime minister, varied according to the abilities of the individual and the activity of the king. In some cases, he was an uncontrolled vicegerent; in others, only the chief among the ministers. The others had their departments, but not very strictly defined.

The kings were easy of access: they inquired into petitions, and transacted a great deal of business in the daily assemblies of their court; which, although it must have caused some confusion and loss of time, afforded them the advantage of information from many quarters, besides giving publicity to their decisions and their principles of government.

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Provinces.

The governors of provinces exercised, each within his jurisdiction, all the executive powers of the state. Several of the subordinate officers were appointed by the king, but all were under the orders of the governor. In most provinces there were Hindú chiefs who retained a hereditary jurisdiction: the most submissive of this class paid their revenue and furnished the aid of their troops and militia to the governor, and were subject to his control in cases where he thought it necessary, but were not interfered with in the ordinary course of their administration: the most independent only yielded a general obedience to the government, and afforded their aid to keep the peace; but these last were confined to strong countries, or large tracts bordering on a province.*

Army.

Part of the army were men hired singly by the king, and mounted on his horses, but the greater number probably brought their own horses and arms; and these last would often come in parties, large or small, under leaders of their own. There was no feudal authority under the kings of Delhi. Fírúz Sháh Tóghlak is said to have been the first that assigned land in lieu of pay; and Alá u dín

* It was to these hereditary chiefs that the term zemíndár was originally applied. The pride of the Mussulmans extended it to independent princes (like those of Oudipúr and Jódpúr), whom they affected to consider as subordinate to their government; but it is only in comparatively modern times that it has been extended *downwards*, so as to include persons holding assignments of the government revenue, as well as district and village officers. (See Mr. Stirling, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xv. p. 239.)

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is said to have been extremely on his guard against all grants, as tending to the independence of his officers.*

Most governors had under them some portion of the regular army, in addition to their local troops; and in case of disturbance, reinforcements were sent under separate commanders, who, when the force was considerable, were nearly on an equality with the governor.

At other times governors were summoned to contribute to the formation of armies, and on those occasions they collected the contingents of their zemíndárs, took awáy as many as could be spared of the troops of the province, and, if their situation was favourable, recruited new ones for the occasion.

Law.

By the original theory of Mahometan government the law was independent of the state, or, rather, the state was dependent on the law. The calif was not excluded from a control over the administration of justice; but in that, and even in his military and political transactions, he was to be guided by the rules of the Korán, and the decisions and practice of the Prophet and of his own predecessors. Before long, the accumulation of decisions, and the writings of learned lawyers, contributed to form a great body of jurisprudence, the interpretation of which required a distinct profession. At the same time, the extension of the Mussulman conquests gave rise to a sort of common

* History of Fírúz Sháh, by Shamsí Surájí.

law not derived from the Korán, but from the custom of the country and the discretion of the kings. From these separate sources arose two distinct classes of tribunals: those of the cázis, which recognised the Mahometan law alone, and which only acted on application, and by fixed rules of procedure; and those of the officers of government, whose authority was arbitrary and undefined.

Civil trials, about marriage, adoption, inheritance, and, generally speaking, all questions regarding private property, ought properly to come before the cázi; who ought also to try all offences that did not threaten the safety of the state or the public tranquillity.

The jurisdiction of the king's officers was not so well defined. We may presume that their interference in civil cases would be rightly exercised in causes between servants of the government, and where there were parties of such power as to be beyond the reach of the cázi; they might reasonably be expected also to supply the defects of the Mahometan law in the case of Hindús; and the revenue officers would be natural umpires in many disputes about land. In criminal cases, rebels, conspirators, and highway robbers, as well as persons embezzling public money, or otherwise offending directly against the state, fell under the lawful jurisdiction of the same functionaries. In general, however, the governors and their officers were not scrupulous in confining themselves to those classes of trials. They received all complaints that were

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made to them, giving summary decisions in many cases, and referring those that turned on points of Mahometan law to the cázi, to whom also all causes that did not excite interest or promise profit would be left. The power of the cázis varied in different reigns. At some times we see the office, even in provincial courts, filled by men of celebrity; and at those times, we must conclude, their authority was respected, as appeared likewise from the occasional resistance of the cázis to the governors: at others it probably sunk nearly to its present level, when the duty is reduced to performing marriages, registering and authenticating deeds, and similar unimportant functions.

Church.

There was no church establishment, or, rather, no church government: every man, king or subject, who founded a mosque, left funds to maintain the priest (imám) and other persons required for public worship. Assignments were also made to holy men and their successors, and even to their tombs.

There was in each district an officer called sadr, whose business it was to see that the objects of all these grants, or at least those made by the crown, were carried into effect; and there was a sadr u sadúr at the head of all the sadrs: their jurisdiction was only over the application of the funds; the succession was settled by the original grantor, and generally depended on the choice of the incumbent, regulated by the opinion of the learned of the neighbourhood.

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Though there was no organised body of clergy, there was a class (called moulavis or mullahs) from which judges, lawyers, and ministers of religion were generally or always taken. But these were rather *graduates* in law and divinity than ecclesiastics. The degree was conferred by a meeting of some of the recognised members of the class, who were supposed to ascertain the learning and fitness of an individual, and who formally invested him with his new character, by tying on a peculiar kind of turban. He was bound by no vows, and was subject to no superior, but was controlled by public opinion and the hopes of preferment alone.

Moulavis.

Distinct from the ministers of religion was a numerous class of monkish devotees, called dervises in Persia, but in India more frequently fakírs. This is an excrescence on the Mahometan system, originating in the sanctity of particular persons. At first there were no saints, and the earliest instances of elevation to that character were in the case of martyrs, or of distinguished champions of the faith who fell in battle. By degrees, austere and religious lives led to this sort of canonisation, which was conferred by public opinion, and generally on living men. These saints were followed by disciples, who, by degrees, formed orders, always distinguished by some watchword and some form of initiation, and sometimes by peculiarities of dress or observances. Many of these became early extinct, while others branched out into new orders. Small

Fakírs.

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numbers of fakírs lived with their chiefs, and others were drawn together by charitable distributions, &c.; but they had no monasteries like the Hindús.

The most eminent among the saints were not impostors, although their followers might magnify the prophetic character of their predictions and the miraculous effects of their prayers: in later times, however, there was a lower class of fakírs, who supported their claims to supernatural powers by tricks with magnets, phosphorus, &c., and by legerdemain. Of the higher description many were treated with the utmost reverence even by kings; and, although professing poverty and abstinence, were accustomed to live in great splendour, or at least to distribute vast sums in charity*: and they often acquired such influence as to excite the jealousy of the government. Several instances occur of men of great sanctity being put to death for real or suspected plots against the state.†

* Bahá u dín Zakaríah, who died in the beginning of the fourteenth century, and is still one of the most revered saints, left enormous wealth to his heirs. (*Briggs's Ferishta*, vol. i. p. 377.)

† Ibn Batúta, in the middle of the thirteenth century, furnishes examples of all these kinds. A great fakír put to death for a conspiracy in his time has been mentioned. He met several really holy men who made no pretensions; but he also met one who pretended to live almost without nourishment, and another who professed to remember a calif who died near 100 years before. The first of these also told Ibn Batúta's thoughts, and foretold events: another fakír had seven foxes that followed him like dogs, and a lion that lived in harmony with an antelope. For an account of the orders, the method of initiation, and the principal saints, see Herklot's *Kánúni Islám*.

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The most flourishing period for these holy men was the thirteenth and the beginning of the fourteenth centuries. Many saints of those and later times are still revered, and are the objects of vows and pilgrimages; but the fakírs, their followers, though perhaps respected at first, have long lost their influence.

Superstitions.

Many of the superstitions of the age were unconnected with, and even opposed to, religion. Not only was the faith unbounded in astrology, divination, magic, and other arts discouraged by Mahomet; but even practices of the Hindús, and prejudices originating in their religion, began to gain ground. The miracles of their jógis are related by orthodox writers with as perfect a conviction as could have been given to those in the Korán; witchcraft was universally believed; omens and dreams were paid the greatest attention to: and this credulity was not influenced by the prevalence of scepticism in religion; it was admitted even by Akber, and exercised absolute sway over his son, while it was by no one treated so contemptuously as by the bigoted Aurangzíb. The Shía religion never made any progress in Hindostan, as it did in the Deckan: there were no sectarian animosities, and, altogether, there was more superstition than fanaticism. The Hindús were regarded with some contempt, but with no hostility. They were liable to a capitation tax (jezía) and some other invidious distinctions, but were not molested in the exercise of their religion.

Sects.

Hindús.

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The Hindús who are mentioned as military commanders may perhaps have been zemíndárs, heading their contingents, and not officers appointed by the crown: there is no doubt, however, that many were employed in civil offices, especially of revenue and accounts*; and we have seen that Hému and Médni Rái were intrusted with all the powers of their respective governments, and that under Mobárik Khilji the whole spirit of the court and administration was Hindú.

Conversions.

It is difficult to form an opinion as to the period when the conversions of Hindús were chiefly accomplished, or in what circumstances they were brought about. The actual state of the population affords us little light. The largest proportion of Mussulmans to Hindús is probably in the remote districts in the east of Bengal; while about the Mahometan capitals of Delhi and Agra it is much less considerable.†

The terror of the arms of the Mahometans, and the novelty of their doctrines, led many to change their religion at first; but when these were succeeded by controversial discussion and more mo-

* Baber informs us that when he arrived in India, "the officers of revenue, merchants, and workpeople were all Hindus." (*Erskine's Baber*, p. 232.)

† In Bengal, east of the Ganges, they are more than one half of the population. In most parts of Bengal they are one fourth; but in the west of Behár and in Benáres, not above one twentieth. See Lord Wellesley's interrogatories, in 1801, laid before parliament. Buchanan makes the Mahometans in the west of Behár one thirteenth.

derate intolerance, a spirit opposed to conversion would naturally arise.

The whole of the Mussulmans in India at the present moment do not exceed one eighth of the population; and, after allowing for the great and long-continued immigration, and for the natural increase, during eight centuries, of a favoured class whose circumstances gave great facility in rearing families, the number left for converts would not be very great. Even if the whole eighth part of the population were converts, the proportion would be surprisingly small compared to other Mahometan countries.*

Revenue.

The revenue system was probably the same as now exists, and as existed under the Hindús; for the alterations attempted by Shír Sháh, and accomplished by Akber, were not designed to change the system, but to render it more perfect. The confusion of new conquests, and the ignorance of foreign rulers, must, however, have led to many abuses and exactions.

Condition of the people.

The condition of the people in ordinary times does not appear to have borne the marks of oppression. The historian of Fírúz Sháh (A. D. 1351 to 1394) expatiates on the happy state of the ryots, the goodness of their houses and furniture, and the general use of gold and silver ornaments by their women. He is a panegyrical writer, and not much

* The proportion of one eighth is from Hamilton's Description of Hindostan, vol. i. p. 25. He does not give his authority, but he is supported by the common opinion.

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to be trusted; but he says, among other things, that every ryot had a good bedstead and a neat garden: and the mere mention of such circumstances shows a more minute attention to the comforts of the people than would be met with in a modern author.

State of the country.

The general state of the country must, no doubt, have been flourishing. Nicolo di Conti, who travelled about A. D. 1420*, speaks highly of what he saw of Guzerát, and found the banks of the Ganges (or perhaps the Megna) covered with towns, amidst beautiful gardens and orchards, and passed four famous cities before he reached Maarazia, which he describes as a powerful city filled with gold, silver, and precious stones. Barbosa and Bartemà, who travelled in the first years of the sixteenth century, corroborate those accounts. The former, in particular, describes Cambay as a remarkably well-built city, in a beautiful and fertile country, filled with merchants of all nations, and with artisans and manufacturers like those of Flanders.† Even Ibn Batúta, who travelled during the anarchy and oppression of Mohammed Tóghlak's reign (about 1440 or 1450), though insurrections were raging in most parts through which he passed, enumerates many large and populous towns

Towns and commerce.

* Ramusio, vol. i. p. 359.

† Barbosa is in Ramusio, vol. i. p. 288., and Bartema, in the same volume, p. 147. Cesare Federici, in 1563, gives a similar account of Guzerát, Ramusio, vol. iii. p. 386. (edition of 1606), and Hackluyt vol. ii. p. 343.

and cities, and gives a high impression of the state in which the country must have been before it fell into disorder.

Báber, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, although he regards Hindostan with the same dislike that Europeans still feel, speaks of it as a rich and noble country, abounding in gold and silver*; and expresses his astonishment at the swarming population, and the innumerable workmen in every trade and profession.†

The part of India still retained by the Hindús was nowise inferior to that possessed by the Ma-

* Erskine's Baber, pp. 310. 333.

† Ibid. pp. 315. 334. To all these accounts of the flourishing state of the country, it is natural to oppose the statement of Báber, that in his time elephants abounded about Calpí and in Karrah and Mánikpúr (*Erskine's Báber*, p. 315.), and the fact of Akber's falling in with a herd of those animals near Coláras in the east of Malwa (*Briggs's Ferishta*, vol. ii. p. 216.); from which we might suppose that those places were then amidst forests which have since been cleared away. I am disposed to think, however, that the disappearance of the elephants is to be ascribed to the activity of the Mahometan hunters, and not to the improvement of the country. Ibn Batúta, who wrote near two centuries before Báber, expressly says that Karrah and Mánikpúr were the two most populous districts in India (*Lee's Ibn Batúta*, p. 119.); small tracts of hills and jungle would be enough to shelter elephants, who would spread over the cultivated country for food; and that there is no necessary connection between the residence of such animals and the absence of population, appears from the facts that the rhinoceros is still common in the Rájmahal hills, close to the populous lands of Bengal, while in the vast forest on the east of Berár there are neither rhinoceroses nor elephants, except a few of the last, which are supposed to be tame ones which have escaped.

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hometans. Besides the writers already mentioned, Abdurizák, an ambassador from the grandson of Tamerlane, visited the south of India in A. D. 1442*; and all concur in giving the impression of a prosperous country.

Those of them who visited Bijáyanagar are unbounded in their admiration of the extent and grandeur of that city; their descriptions of which, and of the wealth of the inhabitants and the pomp of the rája, are equal to those given by others of Delhi and Canouj.†

Other populous towns are mentioned; and Ibn Batúta speaks of Madura, at the extremity of the peninsula (then recently conquered by the Mahometans) as a city like Delhi. The same author says, that through the whole of Malabár, for two months' journey, there was not a span free from cultivation: every body had a garden, with his house placed in the middle of it, and a wooden fence round the whole.‡

The sea ports, above all, seem to have attracted admiration. Those on both coasts are described as large cities, the resort and habitation of merchants from every part of the world, and carrying

* Murray's Discoveries in Asia, vol. ii. p. 18.

† Abdurizák's description of Bijáyanagar is so glowing, that it is scarcely surpassed by that in the story of Prince Ahmed in the "Arabian Nights," which appears to be taken from it. Conti is so extravagant as to say that it is sixty miles in circumference. Bartema says seven miles; but adds, that it is very like Milan.

‡ Lee's Ibn Batúta, p. 166.

on trade with Africa, Arabia, Persia, and China.* A great home trade was likewise carried on along the coast, and into the interior.

The adulation of the historians of later kings has had a tendency to depreciate the state of improvement attained under the early dynasties. One claims the institution of posts for his hero, another the establishment of highways with caravanserais and rows of trees; and Abul Fazl has been the occasion of most of the useful inventions in India being ascribed to Akber. But we have seen from Ibn Batúta that regular horse as well as foot posts existed under Mohammed Tóghlak; and foot posts, to a certain extent, must be coeval with village establishments.† The roads may have been improved by Shír Sháh; but Ibn Batúta, 200 years before his time, found the highways shaded by trees, with resting houses and wells at regular intervals along a great part of the coast of Malabár, then under the Hindús; and in an inscription lately discovered‡, which there is every reason to think is of the third century *before* Christ, there is an especial order by the king for digging wells and planting trees along the public highways.

* Besides ships from Persia, Arabia, and other neighbouring countries, some of the ports of Malabár were frequented by large junks from China. (*Ibn Batúta*, pp. 169. 172.)

† Each village has a public messenger; and economy as well as dispatch would suggest to the head of a district to send his letters and orders by their means from village to village along the road.

‡ See Vol I. pp. 265. 394.

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Coinage.

It has been said (though not by Abul Fazl) that Akber first coined silver or gold money. The assertion is inconsistent with all history: if the Hindús had not a coinage in those metals earlier, they at least adopted it from the Bactrian Greeks* about the beginning of the Christian æra. The Ghaznavites could not have dropped a practice observed by the Samánis and the califs; and the second coin in Mr. Marsden's collection, belonging to the Delhi kings, is a silver one of Altamsh, who died in 1235.†

If the value of the coins at different periods can be fixed at all, it can only be after a long inquiry by a person accustomed to such subjects.‡ The

* Mr. Prinsep's Useful Tables, p. 15., and his Researches in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta.*

† Marsden's Numismata Orientalia, p. 521.

‡ Some notion of the fluctuations in this respect may be formed from the following statements: — The dínár under the califs was about equal to 10*s.* 8*d.* (*Marsden's Numismata*, p. xvii.) In Ibn Batúta's time a western dínár was to an eastern as 4 to 1, and an eastern dínár seems to have been one tenth of a tankha, which, even supposing the tankha of that day to be equal to a rupee of Akber, would be only 2¼*d.* (*Ibn Batúta*, p. 149.) A modern dínár, in Cábul, is so small, that it takes 200 to make an abassi, a coin of less value than a shilling. The tankha is said by Ferishta (vol. i. p. 360.) to have been, in Alá u din's time, equal to fifty jítals (a copper coin which some said was equal to a peisa), and in Mohammed Tóghlak's time it was so debased as to be worth no more than 16 peisas. The tankha appears to be the coin represented by the modern rupee, and perhaps, when at its proper standard, was about the same value. The rupee of Akber contained 174·5 grains of pure silver, and was divided into 40 dáms or peisas (of 191⅓ grains of copper each). The dám was divided into 25 jítals (probably a nominal

first princes used dínárs and dirhems, like the califs; these were succeeded by tankhas, divided into dáms or jítals. Shír Sháh changed the name of tankha to that of rupeia, or rupee, which was adopted by Akber; and the latter prince fixed the weight and relative value of money on a scale which remained unaltered till the dissolution of the Mogul empire, and is the basis of that now in use.

Architecture.

We are enabled, in some degree, to judge of the progress of the early Mussulmans by the specimens they have left of their architecture. The arches of the unfinished mosque near the Kutb Mínár, besides their height and the rich ornamental inscriptions with which they are covered, deserve mention, as early instances of the pointed arch.* The centre arch appears, by the inscription, to have been finished in A. H. 594, A. D. 1197. Many

coin). Queen Elizabeth's shilling contained 88·8 grains of pure silver; Akber's rupee, therefore, was worth 1*s.* 11½*d.* of English money of his time. Akber's standard remained almost unaltered, all over the Mogul dominions, until the breaking up of the empire in the middle of the last century, when numerous mints sprung up and issued much debased money. The rupee that now circulates in the Company's territories contains 176 grains of pure silver, and exchanges for 64 peisas, containing 100 grains of copper each.

* The Kutb Mínár, finished by Altamsh between A. D. 1210 and A. D. 1236, has pointed arches in the doors. By examining the ruins of old and new Delhi alone, a view of the progress of Indian architecture might be made out which would throw light on the history of the art in the East.

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of the buildings of the later princes before Akber have small pointed arches, and seem to betray the incapacity of the builders to erect a dome of any size. Their mosques are composed of a collection of small cupolas, each resting on four pillars; so that the whole mosque is only a succession of alleys between ranges of pillars, with no clear space of any extent.

It is probable, however, that this form may have been retained, as that originally appropriated for mosques, by architects capable of constructing large cupolas. The Black Mosque at Delhi, for instance, is in the ancient style, though built in A. D. 1387, under Fírúz Tóghlak; while the tomb of Gheiás u dín Tóghlak, who died in A. D. 1325, is covered with one cupola of considerable magnitude.*

The domes at first are low and flat; they gradually gain elevation till the time of Jehángír, or Sháh Jehán, when they take in considerably more than half of a sphere, and are raised upon a cylinder. The arches, also, are different at different times: the early ones are plain Gothic arches; the latest ones are ogee and horse-shoe arches, feathered all round. The buildings after Akber's accession are much lighter, as well as more lofty and more splendid, than those of an earlier date; which, on

* The dome was, no doubt, borrowed from the buildings of the Greek empire; but the mosques erected after it had once been fully established in India are incomparably superior in the elegance of their exterior to St. Sophia.

the other hand, make a strong impression from their massive and austere character.*

Though the constant use of the pointed arch, the nature of the tracery, and some other particulars, create a resemblance between the Gothic and Indian architecture which strikes every one at first sight, yet the frequency and importance of domes, and the prevalence of horizontal lines in the Indian, make an essential difference between the styles. The more ancient buildings in particular, which in other respects are most like the Gothic, are marked by a bold and unbroken cornice formed of flat stones, projecting very far, and supported by deep brackets or modilions of the same material.

Even the abundance of turrets and pinnacles does not increase the resemblance to the Gothic; for they seldom taper at all, and never much; and they always end in a dome, which sometimes bulges out beyond the circumference of the turret.

Manners.

The early Mussulmans were stout and ruddy men, dressed in short tunics of thick cloth, and always in boots. Those of Aurangzíb's time were generally slender, dark, and sallow, and wore long white gowns of the thinnest muslin, which spread out from the waist in innumerable folds, and scarcely showed the naked foot and embroidered slipper. It is difficult to ascertain the gradation

* "These Patans built like giants, and finished their work like jewellers. Yet the ornaments, florid as they are in their proper places, are never thrown away, or allowed to interfere with the general severe and solemn character of their edifices." (*Bishop Heber's Journal*, vol. i. p. 565.)

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by which this change, and a corresponding alteration in manners, were effected.

It must have *begun* soon after the dissolution of the connection with Ghazni and Ghór. Ibn Batúta, in the middle of the fourteenth century, mentions the use of bítel, and notices peculiarities in the cookery, and what he calls *oddity* in the manners; and Báber, early in the sixteenth, is shocked to find every thing so unlike what he is used to.* It is probable that the greatest alteration took place after the accession of the house of Teimúr, when the influx of foreigners was stopped by hostile feelings towards the Uzbeks and Afgháns, and by religious prejudices against the Persians.† It was the direct policy of Akber that the manners of the

* Baber's account is amusing, being written with all the violent prejudice still felt by persons just arrived from Cábul or from Europe. "Hindostan is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it. The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society, of frankly mixing together, or of familiar intercourse. They have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manners, no kindness, no fellow feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning or executing their handicraft works, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture; they have no good horses, no good flesh, no grapes or musk melons, no good fruits, no ice or cold water, no good food or bread in their bázárs, no baths or colleges, no candles, no torches, not a candlestick." He then goes on to ridicule their clumsy substitutes for the last useful articles. (*Erskine's Báber*, p. 333.)

† So complete was the separation at last, that Aurangzíb treats the Persians (the original models of the Indian Mussulmans) as rude barbarians, and hardly ever mentions their name without a rhyming addition, which may be translated, "monsters of the wilds."

Mahometans should assimilate to those of the original natives.

This mixture probably softened the manners of the people from the first; but it was some time before it had any effect on the government. There were many more instances of cruelty and perfidy under the slave kings than in the time of Mahmúd and his successors. Such atrocities under the succeeding dynasties were generally owing to the tyrannical disposition of an individual, or the revolts of foreign troops; and under most of the princes of the house of Teimúr, the general character of the government approached to the mildness and moderation of European sovereignties.

Mahometan literature.

Purely Mahometan literature flourished most in India during the period to which we are now adverting, and fell off after the accession of Akber. Improvements in science were, doubtless, obtained from Hindú and European sources; but, I believe, there is no eminent specimen of Persian composition in India after the epoch mentioned.

The great superiority of Mahometan writers over their predecessors in Shanscrit is in history, and is derived from the Arabs. Though often verbose on ordinary topics, and silent on those of interest, deficient in critical skill and philosophical spirit, and not exempt from occasional puerility and exaggeration, their histories always present a connected narrative of the progress of events, show a knowledge of geography, a minute attention to dates, and a laudable readiness to quote authorities,

which place them immeasurably above the vague fables of the Bramins.

Language.

It is surprising that so little is known of the modern language of the Indian Mahometans.

After the founding of the kingdom of Delhi, the conversation of their wives and children, as well as their continual intercourse with the natives, must have taught the conquerors to speak the language of the country, in which most of the roots were Shanscrit, but the forms and inflexions more like modern Hindostáni. It is not likely that this language remained long unmixed; though the progress of its change into that now spoken has not yet been traced by any orientalist.

It is stated by a modern Mahometan writer * that the language took its present form during Teimúr's invasion; and, although it cannot be supposed that an incursion which lasted less than a year, and left no traces but in blood, could affect the language of a nation, yet it is not improbable that the beginning of the fifteenth century may have formed a marked epoch in the progress of Hindostáni.

It could have made little progress before the end of the twelfth century, as it is formed on the Indian dialect of Canouj, and not on that of the Panjáb, the only province previously occupied. †

The use of this mixed language in composition must have been of a later date; for though Mr.

* Quoted in Dr. Gilchrist's Hindostáni Philology.

† Mr. Colebrooke, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. vii. p. 220.

Colebrooke mentions a Hindú poet who wrote at Ambér (or Jeipúr) about the beginning of the sixteenth century, and who sometimes borrowed words from the Persian; yet he states that even Mahometan poets at first wrote in the pure local dialect above mentioned, which, he says, was called Hindí or Hindevi; and the specimens given in a Persian book on the poets of India (written in A. D. 1752), although all composed by Mahometans, do not introduce Persian or Arabic till near the end of the series.

The earliest of the celebrated poets in modern Hindostáni is Wali, who wrote in the middle of the seventeenth century. He is followed by a long train down to the present time. Their compositions are, in general, mere imitations of the Persians. It is probable, however, that they had the merit of introducing satires on manners and domestic life into Asia; for those of the Arabs and Persians seem to have been invectives against individuals, like Ferdousi's against Mahmúd. The best author in this branch of poetry is Souda, who livĕd late in the last century.

The other dialects (as those of Bengal, Guzerát, &c.), and also the languages of the Deckan, have admitted Persian and Arabic words in great numbers, but without forming a new language like the Hindostáni.

BOOK IX.

AKBER.

CHAP. I.

FROM 1556 TO 1586.

BOOK IX.

A.D. 1556, A.H. 963. Accession of Akber.

AKBER was only thirteen years and four months old at his father's death, and though unusually manly and intelligent for his age, was obviously incapable of administering the government. He had been sent by Humáyun as the nominal head of the army in the Panjáb, but the real command was vested in Behrám Khán; and the same relation was preserved after Akber's accession. Behrám received a title equivalent to that of "the king's father*," and was invested with the unlimited exercise of all the powers of sovereignty.

Behrám Khán.

The nobleman thus trusted was a Túrkman by birth, and had been a distinguished officer under Humáyun before his expulsion from India. In the final defeat of that monarch by Shír Sháh, Behrám was separated from his master, and made

* It was "Khán Bábá," which is the Persian for the title of Atábek, so common among the Túrks, both meaning "Lord Father."

his way, after a long series of dangers and adventures, through Guzerát to Sind, where he joined Humáyun, in the third year after his expulsion. He was received with joy by the whole of the exiled party, who seem already to have rightly estimated his value in times of difficulty. He became thenceforward the most confidential of Humáyun's officers; and it would have been better for the affairs of his sovereign if they had borne more of the impress of his determined character.

At the time of Humáyun's death, Behrám was engaged in putting an end to the resistance of Secander Súr, who had retired to the skirts of the northern mountains, and still retained his pretensions to be king of Delhi and the Panjáb. He had scarcely time to arrange the new government, when he received intelligence that Mírzá Solimán of Badakhshán had taken possession of Cábul and all that part of Humáyun's late dominions; and while he was considering of the means of repairing this disaster, he learned that Hému had set out with an army on the part of Sultán A'dili, for the double purpose of expelling the Moguls and reducing the rebellion of Secander Súr. The result of this contest has been already told.* The Afgháns were defeated; and Hému, who fought with desperate valour, and had continued to resist after he had received a mortal wound from an arrow through the eye, at length fell senseless on his elephant,

Loss of Cábul.

A.D. 1556, Nov. 5.; A.H. 964, Moharram 2.

Defeat and death of Hému.

* See p. 158.

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and was taken prisoner and brought to Akber's tent. Behrám was desirous that Akber should give him the first wound, and thus, by imbruing his sword in the blood of so distinguished an infidel, should establish his right to the envied title of "Gházi," or "Champion of the Faith;" but the spirited boy refused to strike a wounded enemy, and Behrám, irritated by his scruples, himself cut off the captive's head at a blow.

Recovery of Delhi and Agra.

Akber soon after took possession of Delhi and Agra. He was, before long, obliged to return to the Panjáb, by intelligence that Secander Súr had issued from the mountains and possessed himself of a great portion of the province. The plain country was easily recovered, and Secander retired to the strong fort of Mánkót. He defended that place with obstinacy; and it was not till after eight months' operations that he capitulated, and was allowed to retire to Bengal, which was still held by an officer of the Afghán dynasty.

Campaign in the Panjáb.

Submission of Secander Súr.

Arbitrary government of Behrám Khán.

The real restoration of the house of Tamerlane may be dated from this period: it had been brought about entirely through the exertions of Behrám Khán, whose power was now at the highest pitch ever reached by a subject, and already began to show distant indications of decline.

Behrám's military talents, and the boldness and vigour of his government, had enabled him to surmount external difficulties under which a less determined leader would have sunk; and even his arbitrary and inflexible disposition was essential

to the maintenance of subordination in an army of adventurers, whose disorders Humáyun had never been able to repress, and which must soon have overturned the government after it fell into the hands of a minor.

His domination was therefore submitted to without a murmur as long as the general safety depended on his exercise of it; but when the fear of immediate destruction was removed, the pressure of his rule began to be felt, and was rendered more intolerable by some of the vices of his nature. His temper was harsh and severe, his manners haughty and overbearing. He was jealous of his authority to the last degree, exacted unbounded obedience and respect, and could not suffer the smallest pretension to power or influence derived from any source but his favour.

General discontent at court.

These qualities soon raised up a host of enemies, and, in time, alienated the mind of the king, now advancing towards manhood, and impatient of the insignificance to which he was reduced by the dictatorial proceedings of his minister.

His indignation was increased by the injustice of some of Behrám's acts of power. As early as the battle with Hému, Behrám took advantage of Akber's absence on a hawking party, to put to death Tardi Bég, the former governor of Delhi, without even the ceremony of taking the king's orders on so solemn an occasion. The victim had been one of Báber's favourite companions, and had accompanied Humáyun in all his wanderings, but had no

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doubt exposed himself to punishment for his premature evacuation of Delhi. One day, while Akber was amusing himself with an elephant fight, one of these animals ran off the field, pursued by its antagonist, and followed by a promiscuous crowd of spectators: it rushed through the tents of Behrám, some of which were thrown down; thus exposing the minister himself to danger, while it threw all around him into the utmost confusion and alarm. Irritated by this seeming affront, and perhaps suspecting a secret design against his life, Behrám ordered the elephant driver to be put to death, and for some time maintained a reserved and sullen demeanour towards the king himself. A nobleman of consequence enough to oppose Behram was put to death on some slight charge by that minister. The king's own tutor, Pír Mohammed Khán, narrowly escaped the same fate, and was banished, on pretence of a pilgrimage to Mecca. Those about the king's person were constantly harassed by Behrám's distrustful temper, and were provoked by his persecutions to realize his suspicions of their enmity. At length Akber was driven to make an effort to deliver himself from the thraldom in which he lived. He concerted a plan with those around him, and took occasion, when on a hunting party, to make an unexpected journey to Delhi, on the plea of a sudden illness of his mother. He was no sooner beyond the sphere of the minister's influence than he issued a proclamation, announcing that he had taken the go-

A.D. 1560, March; A.H. 667, Jemadi ul Akbir 28.

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vernment into his own hands, and forbidding obedience to orders issued by any other than his authority. Behrám's eyes were opened by these proceedings; and he exerted himself, when too late, to recover the king's confidence. He sent two of his principal adherents to court; but Akber, nowise mollified by this submission, refused to see the envoys, and soon after committed them to prison.

Akber assumes the government.

Perplexity of Behrám.

This open separation was not long in producing its natural effect: all ranks forsook the falling minister, to court the sovereign, from whose youthful virtues, and even weaknesses, they expected a happy contrast to the strict control of Behrám.

The minister, thus left to his own resources, meditated various schemes for retrieving his power: he once thought of seizing the king's person, and afterwards of setting up an independent principality in Málwa; but the support he met with did not encourage him, and he probably was at heart reluctant to draw his sword against the son of his old master; he therefore set off for Nágór, with the avowed intention of embarking, in Guzerát, for Mecca.

At Nágór he lingered, as if in hopes of some change in his fortunes, until he received a message from Akber, dismissing him from his office, and directing him to proceed on his pilgrimage without delay. On this he sent his standards, kettle-drums, and other ensigns of authority to the king, and set out, in a private character, on his way to Guzerát; but, irritated at some further proceedings of Akber,

He revolts.

BOOK IX.

he again changed his mind, assembled a body of troops, and, going openly into insurrection, attempted an invasion of the Panjáb. He was disappointed in his reception in that province. Akber moved against him in person, and sent detachments to intercept him; he was defeated by one of those detachments, constrained to fly to the hills, and at length reduced to throw himself on the king's mercy. Akber did not, on this occasion, forget the great services of his former minister. He sent his principal nobility to meet him at some distance, and to conduct him at once to the royal tent. When Behrám appeared in Akber's presence, he threw himself at his feet, and, moved by former recollections, began to sob aloud. Akber instantly raised him with his own hand, seated him on his right, and, after investing him with a dress of honour, gave him his choice of one of the principal governments under the crown, a high station at court, or an honourable dismissal on his pilgrimage to Mecca. Behrám's pride and prudence equally counselled the latter course. He was assigned a liberal pension, and proceeded to Guzerát; but, while he was preparing for his embarkation, he was assassinated by an Afghán, whose father he had killed in battle during the reign of Humáyun.

A. D. 1560, September; A. H. 968, Moharram. His submission and pardon.

His death.

Difficult situation of the young king.

The charge which Akber had now taken on himself seemed beyond the strength of a youth of eighteen; but the young king was possessed of more than usual advantages, both from nature and education.

He was born in the midst of hardships, and

brought up in captivity. His courage was exercised in his father's wars, and his prudence called forth by the delicacy of his situation during the ascendancy of Behrám. He was engaging in his manners, well formed in his person, excelled in all exercises of strength and agility, and showed exuberant courage even in his amusements; as in taming unbroken horses and elephants, and in rash encounters with tigers and other wild beasts. Yet, with this disposition, and a passionate love of glory, he founded his hopes of fame at least as much on the wisdom and liberality of his government as on its military success. CHAP. I.

It required all his great qualities to maintain him in the situation in which he was placed.

Of all the dynasties that had yet ruled in India, that of Tamerlane was the weakest and the most insecure in its foundations. The houses of Ghazni and Ghór depended on their native kingdom, which was contiguous to their Indian conquest; and the slave dynasties were supported by the continual influx of their countrymen; but, though Báber had been in some measure naturalised in Cábul, yet the separation of that country under Cámrán had broken its connection with India, and the rivalry of an Afghán dynasty turned the most warlike part of its inhabitants, as well as of the Indian Mussulmans, into enemies. The only adherents of the house of Tamerlane were a body of adventurers, whose sole bond of union was their common advantage during success.

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The weakness arising from this want of natural support had been shown in the easy expulsion of Humáyun, and was still felt in the early part of the reign of his son.

His plan for restoring and consolidating the empire.

It was probably by these considerations, joined to a generous and candid nature, that Akber was led to form the noble design of putting himself at the head of the whole Indian nation, and forming the inhabitants of that vast territory, without distinction of race or religion, into one community.

This policy was steadily pursued throughout his reign. He admitted Hindús to every degree of power, and Mussulmans of every party to the highest stations in the service, according to their rank and merit; until, as far as his dominions extended, they were filled with a loyal and united people.

But these were the fruits of time; and the first calls on Akber's attention were of an urgent nature: —

1. To establish his authority over his chiefs.

2. To recover the dominions of the crown.

3. To restore, in the internal administration of them, that order which had been lost amidst so many revolutions.

Extent of his territory.

In the first years of Akber's reign, his territory was confined to the Panjáb and the country round Delhi and Agra. In the third year, he acquired Ajmír without a battle; early in the fourth, he obtained the fort of Guáliór; and, not long before Behrám's fall, he had driven the Afgháns out of

A.D. 1559, A.H. 966.

Lucknow, and the country on the Ganges as far east as Júanpúr. 1560 I.

The adherents of the house of Súr that still remained in those parts were under Shír Sháh II., a son of the last king, A'dili; and, soon after Akber took charge of his own government, that prince advanced with a considerable army to Júanpúr, in the hope of recovering his dominions. He was totally defeated by Khán Zemán, a chief of Akber's; but the victor, despising the youth and feeble resources of his master, withheld the king's share of the booty, and showed so great a spirit of independence that Akber found it necessary to proceed in person towards the residence of the refractory governor. His presence produced more dutiful behaviour, but the disposition to insubordination was only kept under for the time. Insubordination and rebellions of his officers. A.D. 1560, A.H. 968.

The next affectation of independence was in Málwa. That province had remained in possession of Báz Bahádur, one of the officers of the Afghán kings, and an attempt had been made to dispossess him during the administration of Behrám Khán. The undertaking was renewed with more vigour by Akber. A'dam Khán, the officer employed, succeeded in defeating and expelling Báz Bahádur*,

* An affecting incident occurred on this occasion. Báz Bahádur had a Hindú mistress, who is said to have been one of the most beautiful women ever seen in India. She was as accomplished as she was fair, and was celebrated for her verses in the Hindú language. She fell into the hands of A'dam Khán on the flight of Báz Bahádur; and finding herself unable to resist his importunities and threatened violence, she ap-

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but was as little disposed as Khán Zemán to part with the fruits of his victory.

Akber did not wait for any open act of mutiny: he disconcerted the ill designs of his general by a rapid march to his camp; and A'dam Khán, unprepared for so sudden a crisis, lost no time in making his submission: his offence was readily pardoned; but he was soon after removed from his government, which was given to the king's former tutor, Pír Mohammed Khán. This man, bred to letters, showed none of the virtues to be expected, either from his old profession or his present station. He was invaded by Báz Bahádur; and, although he gained considerable successes at first, he stained them by the massacre of the inhabitants of two cities of which he had obtained possession, and was ultimately defeated and drowned in the Nerbadda; the whole province falling into the hands of its old possessor. Báz Bahádur was finally subdued by Abdulla Khán Uzbek, whom Akber immediately sent against him. At a subsequent period, he entered the service of the emperor, whose liberal policy always left that resource for his conquered enemies.

A.D. 1560, May; A.H. 968, Shábán.

A.D. 1561, A.H. 969.

The ungovernable spirit of A'dam Khán was not tamed by his removal from power; for, on

pointed an hour to receive him, put on her most splendid dress, on which she sprinkled the richest perfumes, and lay down on a couch with her mantle drawn over her face. Her attendants thought that she had fallen asleep, but on endeavouring to wake her on the approach of the Khán, they found she had taken poison, and was already dead. (*Khafi Khán*).

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some subsequent rivalry with Akber's vizír, he stabbed him, while at prayers, in a room adjoining to that occupied by the young king. Akber ran out on hearing the disturbance, and his first impulse was to revenge the death of his minister with his own hand: he restrained himself sufficiently to sheath his sword, but ordered the murderer to be thrown from the lofty building where his offence took place. Nor was Abdullah Khán less unruly in his government of Málwa: within a little more than a year of the conquest of the province, he obliged Akber to move against him in person; and having in vain attempted to oppose the royal army, he fled to Guzerát, and took refuge with the king of that country. His fate was viewed with dissatisfaction by several other Uzbeks, who occupied commands in Akber's army. They suspected that the young monarch was actuated by a dislike to their race, such as a descendant of Báber might well be supposed to entertain; and they shared with many military leaders in their impatience of the subordination to which their class was about to be reduced. In this spirit they revolted, and were joined by Khán Zemán, before mentioned, and by Asof Khán, another nobleman, who had lately distinguished himself by the conquest of Garrah, a principality on the Nerbadda, bordering on Bundélcand. It was governed by a queen, who opposed the Mahometan general in an unsuccessful action, when, seeing her army routed, and being herself severely wounded, she avoided falling into the hands of the

A.D. 1562, A.H. 970.

A. D. 1563, A. H. 970-1.

A. D. 1564, A. H. 972.

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enemy by stabbing herself with her dagger. Her treasures, which were of great value, fell into the hands of Asof Khán; he secreted the greater part, and the detection of this embezzlement was the immediate cause of his revolt.

The war with these rebels was attended with various success, and with alternate submission and renewed defection on the part of more than one of the chiefs. It occupied Akber for more than two years; and was concluded by an act of courage very characteristic of the conqueror. Akber had made great progress in reducing the rebellion, when he was drawn off by an invasion of the Panjáb, under his brother Hakím. This occupied him for several months; and, on his return, he found the rebels had recovered their ground, and were in possession of most parts of the Subahs of Oud and Allahábád. He marched against them without delay, though it was the height of the rainy season; drove them across the Ganges; and, when they thought themselves secure behind that swollen river, he made a forced march through a flooded country, swam the Ganges at night all with his advanced guard of not 2000 men on horses and elephants, and, after lying concealed during the night, attacked the enemy about sunrise. The rebels, though aware of the approach of a small body of horse, were quite unprepared for an attack; and Khán Zemán having been killed, and another principal chief unhorsed and made prisoner, in the first confusion, they lost all

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the advantage of their numbers, fell into complete disorder, and soon after dispersed and fled in all directions.

Quelled after a struggle of seven years.

The invasion from Cábul which had interrupted Akber's operations, had its origin in much earlier events. Two of Akber's chiefs, Abul Máalí and Sherf u dín, had revolted at Nágór, before the Uzbek rebellion (in A. D. 1561, A. H. 969), had defeated the king's troops, and advanced towards Delhi: they were afterwards driven back in their turn, and forced to seek for safety beyond the Indus. They retired with the remains of their force to Cábul, where circumstances secured them a favourable reception.

Affairs of Cábul.

That kingdom was left at the death of Humáyun under the nominal government of his infant son, Mírza Hakím, and immediately after was overrun, as has been mentioned *, by his relation, Sólimán of Badakhshán; and, though soon afterwards recovered, was never really in obedience to Akber. The government was in the hands of the prince's mother, who maintained her difficult position with ability, though not more exposed to danger from foreign enemies than from the plots and usurpations of her own ministers.

Nominal government of Prince Hakím, Akber's brother.

She had recently been delivered from a crisis of the latter description, when she was joined by the rebellious chiefs from India; and before long she was induced to confide the control of her affairs to Abul Máalí. That adventurer at first

* See p. 258.

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showed himself a useful minister; but his secret views were directed to objects very different from the establishment of the Bégum's authority, and as soon as he had himself formed a party in the kingdom, he had her assassinated, and took the government into his own hands. The aid of Mírza Sólimán was now invoked, and the result was the defeat and death of Abul Máalí (1563). Mírza Sólimán affected to leave his young relation in possession of Cábul, but really placed him under the tutelage of one of his dependents, whose yoke was so irksome that Mírza Hakím rose against it; and, after a struggle with Sólimán, was overcome and chaced out of Cábul. This took place in the last year of the war with the Uzbek chiefs; and Hakím, although he had received such assistance as the times admitted from Akber, yet, conceiving his brother's hands to be fully occupied with the rebellion, at once resolved to indemnify himself at his expense, seized on Láhór, and took possession of the greater part of the Panjáb. This invasion ended in the expulsion of Prince Hakím from India (November, 1566); and an opportune change of circumstances at the same moment opened the way for his return to Cábul, of which country he remained for a considerable period in undisturbed possession.

Hakím invades the Panjáb.

During these transactions, and before the final close of the operations against the Uzbeks, another revolt had taken place in India, which ultimately led to important consequences. Sultán

Revolt of the Mírzas.

Mírza, a prince of the house of Tamerlane, had come to India with Báber; he had rebelled against Humáyun, and though subdued and pardoned, his four sons and three nephews took advantage of the general disturbance just mentioned, and revolted at Sambal, the government which had been assigned to their father. At first they were overpowered without an effort; and the danger from them seemed to be completely at an end, when they were compelled to fly to Guzerát (1566): yet they there sowed the seeds of future troubles, which only ended with the subjugation of the kingdom.

They fly to Guzerát.

Some incidents occurred during the disturbances above related, which, although they had no important results, yet serve to show the state of society at the time.

Miscellaneous occurrences.

During the insurrection of Sherf u dín, as Akber was going in procession to a celebrated shrine, an archer, who it afterwards appeared belonged to the rebel chief, mixed with the spectators, and, pretending to discharge his arrow at a bird which was flying over him, suddenly brought it down in the direction of the emperor, and lodged it some inches deep in his shoulder. He was instantly seized, and Akber was entreated to put off his execution, and to extort a disclosure of the name of his instigator; but he said that a confession in such circumstances was more likely to criminate the innocent than the guilty, and allowed the punishment to take its course.* On another occasion,

* Kháfi Khán. Akbernámeh.

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Khója Móazzim, a man of rank, and remotely connected with Akber through his mother, had given way to a violent temper, and treated his wife with such brutality, that her relations applied to Akber to intercede with him, and prevail on him to leave her with her mother when he was about to remove to his jágír. Akber took an opportunity, while going out on a hunting party, to pay him a visit in his house near Delhi; but the monster guessed his design, and running to his female apartment before Akber had alighted, stabbed his wife to the heart, and threw the bloody dagger from the window among the king's attendants. When Akber entered the house he found him armed for resistance, and narrowly escaped death from one of his slaves, who was cut down as he was making a blow at the emperor. Akber, incensed at these atrocities, ordered Móazzim to be thrown headlong into the Jamna: he did not immediately sink; and Akber relented and ordered him to be taken out and imprisoned in Gwáliór, where he soon after died a maniac.*

On one of Akber's marches he found two great bodies of Hindú devotees prepared, according to their custom†, to contend sword in hand for the possession of a place for bathing during a great annual festival at Tanésar. He endeavoured at first by all means to bring about an amicable settlement; but finding all was in vain, he determined

* Akbernámeh. † See Vol. I. p. 114.

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to allow them to fight it out, and looked on at the conflict in which they immediately engaged. At length one party prevailed, and Akber, to prevent the slaughter that would have followed, ordered his guards to check the victors, and thus put an end to the battle.*

Foreign affairs. The Rájpúts.

During his struggle with the military aristocracy, Akber was fighting for his crown no less than in his contests with the successors of Shír Sháh; but by the time he had completed his twenty-fifth year he had crushed his adversaries by his vigour, or attached them by his clemency, and had time to turn his thoughts to foreign countries. The first which attracted his attention was that of the Rájpút princes. Bahára Mal, the rája of Ambér (now Jeipúr) was always on friendly terms with him, and had, at an early period, given his daughter in marriage to Akber; both he and his son, Bhagwán Dás, being at the same time admitted to a high rank in the imperial army.

Soon after the fall of Behrám (A. D. 1561, A. H. 969) he had sent a force against Márwár, and by the capture of the strong fort of Mírta had made an impression on that country which he was unable to follow up. He now turned his arms against the rána of Chitór (or Oudipúr). U'di Sing, the reigning rána, was the son of Báber's competitor, Rána Sanga, but was a man of a feeble character. On the approach of Akber, he withdrew from

A.D. 1567-8. A. H. 975.

* Akbernámeh.

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Chitór, and retreated into the hilly and woody country north of Guzerát. His absence did not facilitate the capture of the fortress. There was still a strong garrison under Jei Mal, a chief of great courage and ability; and the place, though twice taken before, was still regarded by the Rájpúts of Méwár as a sort of sanctuary of their monarchy. Akber carried on his approaches with caution and regularity. His trenches are minutely described by Ferishta, and closely resemble those of modern Europe. They were zigzags, protected by gabions and by earth thrown from the trench. The object, however, was not to establish a breaching battery, but to get near enough for sinking mines. This was done in two places; and the troops being prepared for the occasion, fire was set to the train. The explosion was the signal for the storming party to rush forward; but it had only taken effect in one of the mines; and while the soldiers were crowding up the breach, the second mine exploded, destroyed many of both parties, and struck such a panic as to occasion the immediate flight of the assailants.

The operations of the siege had now to be recommenced; but Akber, one night, in visiting the trenches, perceived Jei Mal on the works, where he was superintending some repairs by torch-light; he immediately singled him out, and was so fortunate as to shoot him through the head with his own hand. The garrison lost heart on the death of their gallant leader; and, with their usual in-

fatuation, abandoned the breaches and withdrew to the interior of the fort, where they devoted themselves with the accustomed solemnities. The women were committed to the flames with the body of Jei Mal, and the men ran out to meet death from the Mussulmans, who had mounted the ramparts unopposed. Eight thousand men were killed on this occasion, by the Rájpút account; and the Mahometan writers make the number still greater.* The rána, notwithstanding the loss of his capital, remained independent in his fastnesses. Nine years afterwards his son and successor, Rána Pertáb, was deprived of his strongholds of Komulnér and Gogunda (probably in A. D. 1578, A. H. 986†), and was compelled for a time to fly towards the Indus. But, unlike his father, he was an active, high-spirited prince; and his perseverance was rewarded by success: before the death of Akber he recovered a great portion of the open part of his dominions, and founded the new capital called Oudipúr, which is still occupied by his descendants.‡ His house, alone, of the Rájpút royal families, has rejected all matrimonial connections with the kings of Delhi; and has even renounced all affinity with the other rájas, looking on them as

A. D. 1568, March; A. H. 975, Shabán.

* One body of 2000 men escaped by an extraordinary stratagem: they bound the hands of their own women and children, and marched with them through the troops who had stormed the place, as if they had been a detachment of the besiegers in charge of prisoners.

† Ferishta. Muntakhab al Towárikh.

‡ Tod's Rajasthan, vol. i. p. 332, &c.

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contaminated by their intercourse with an alien race.

Such connections were zealously promoted by Akber, and were long kept up by his successors. He himself had two Rájpút queens, of the houses of Jeipúr and Márwár; and his eldest son was married to another princess of Jeipúr. The bride, on these occasions, acquired a natural influence over her husband; her issue had equal claims to the throne with those born of a Mahometan mother; and the connection was on a footing of so much equality, that from being looked on with repugnance as a loss of cast, it soon came to be coveted as an honourable alliance with the family of the sovereign.

In the course of the next year, Akber took the strong hill forts of Rintimbór and Cálinjer: he went in person against the former place. On a subsequent occasion, being near the frontier of Jódpúr, Máldéo, the old rája of Jódpúr, sent his second son to meet him.* This Akber resented, as an imperfect substitute for his own appearance; and afterwards, assuming a superiority to which he was not entitled, made a formal grant of Jódpúr to Rái Sing of Bíkanír, a junior member of the same family. Rái Sing, however, did not obtain possession; and, on the death of Máldéo, his son submitted, and was afterwards treated with the greatest favour and distinction by the emperor.†

A. D. 1570, A. H. 978.

A. D. 1572, A. H. 980.

* Ferishta. † Tod's Rajasthan, vol. ii. p. 34.

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Conquest of Guzerát.

Akber's attention was soon after drawn to an enterprise of greater magnitude, involving the re-annexation of Guzerát to the empire. That kingdom had passed, on the death of Bahádur Sháh, to his nephew, Madmúd II.; and on the death of the latter king, *his* favourite, Etimád Khán, who had been a Hindú slave, carried on the government in the name of a boy whom he pretended to be a son of Mahmúd, and who bore the title of Mozaffer III. The usurpation was opposed by another chief named Chengíz Khán; and it was with this last person that the Mírzas, whose revolt was mentioned in A. D. 1566, took refuge on their flight. Their extravagant pretensions soon drove them into a quarrel with their protector; and, after some partial success, they were expelled from Guzerát, and made an attempt to seize on Málwa, not long after the taking of Chitór, in A. D. 1568. Akber forthwith sent an army against them; but its services were not required; for Chengíz Khán had in the mean time been assassinated, and the Mírzas returned to Guzerát to take advantage of the confusions which followed. Those confusions continued to rage without intermission till the year 1572, when Akber was solicited by Etimád Khán to put an end to the distractions of Guzerát by taking the kingdom into his own possession. He marched from Delhi in September, 1572, and soon reached Patan, between which place and Ahmedábád he was met by the pageant king Mozaffer, who formally transferred his crown to the emperor

A. D. 1572, September; A. H. 980, Jamádi ul awal.

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of Delhi. Some time was spent in reducing refractory chiefs; in endeavours to seize the Mírzas, or, at least, to disperse their troops; and in the siege of Surat, which was carried on by the king in person. Before the place was invested, the principal Mírzas quitted it with a light detachment, and endeavoured to join their main body in the north of Guzerát. Akber made a sudden and rapid movement to intercept them, and succeeded in overtaking them before they had attained their object. He had advanced with such inconsiderate haste that he found himself in front of his enemy, who were 1000 strong, with a party which, after waiting to allow stragglers to come up, amounted only to 156 men. With this handful he commenced the attack, but was repulsed, and compelled to take his stand in some lanes formed by strong hedges of cactus, where not more than three horsemen could advance abreast. He was here hard pressed, and once was separated from his men, and nearly overpowered. But in his small band were several chiefs of note, and among the rest Rája Bhagwán Sing, of Jeipúr, with his nephew and adopted son, Rája Mán Sing; and it was to the exertions of these two that Akber owed his personal deliverance, and the ultimate success of the day. The Mírzas, however, effected their junction with their troops. They afterwards dispersed, met with different adventures, and came to various ends. One was cut off in Guzerát; the principal ones made their way to the north of

India; and, after suffering a defeat from Rája Rái Sing near Nágór, revisited their original seat of Sambal; and when driven thence, they plundered in the Panjáb, and again pursued their flight towards the Indus, until they fell into the hands of the king's officers and were put to death. One only of the Mírzas, named Husén, fled from Guzerát into the hills near Cándésh, and remained unnoticed; while Akber returned to Agra, having once more annexed Guzerát to his crown. A. D. 1573, June 4.; A. H. 981, Safar 2.

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He had not been a month at his capital, when he learned that Mírzá Husén had again entered Guzerát, had been joined by one of the principal officers of the former king, and had already reduced the royal troops of the province to a defensive position, which they found some difficulty in maintaining. The rains had also set in, so that the march of a regular army was impossible; but Akber, with the activity, and perhaps temerity, that characterised him, at once determined to retrieve the affairs in person. He sent off 2000 horse to make the best of their way to Patan, and soon after followed, himself, with 300 persons (chiefly men of rank) on camels. He performed the journey of more than 450 miles with such celerity that, in spite of the season, he had assembled his troops, and faced his enemy at the head of 3000 men, on the ninth day from leaving Agra. His force was still very unequal to that of the rebels; but they were astonished at the sudden apparition of the emperor, and were, moreover,

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engaged in a siege, and exposed to a sally from the garrison. Akber, therefore, though again exposed to imminent personal hazard from his own thoughtless impetuosity, was at last successful. Both the insurgents were killed; and tranquillity being completely restored, he again returned to Agra.*

Conquest of Bengal.

Akber's next great enterprise was the conquest of Bengal. Part of Behár had been occupied after the defeat of Shír Sháh II. in A. D. 1560; the rest of the province, with all the country to the east of it, was still to be subdued. Bengal had revolted from Sultán A'dili before the return of Humáyun, and had remained under different Afghán kings till now. It was held by Dáúd, a weak and debauched prince, who had been nearly supplanted by his vizír, and was engaged in a civil war occasioned by his execution of this dangerous minister.

Akber had profited by these dissensions to obtain a promise of tribute from Dáúd: a temporary prospect of security had led that unsteady prince to

* Before this battle, while Akber was arming, he saw a stipling (the son of one of the Rájpút rájas) labouring under the weight of a suit of mail, out of all proportion to his strength. He immediately exchanged it for a lighter suit of his own; and seeing another rája unprovided, he told him to put on the heavy armour which had remained unoccupied. This rája was a rival of the father of the young Rájpút, who was so indignant at the use made of his armour, that he tore off that given him by the king, and declared that he should go into the action without any armour at all. Akber took no notice of this disrespect, but to say, that he could not allow his chiefs to be more exposed than himself, and that he would also go unarmed into the battle. (*Akbernámeh.*)

reassert his independence, and the king thought the occasion favourable for going against him in person. He left Agra in the height of the rainy season, availing himself of the Jamna and Ganges for the transport of his stores and part of his army. He scarcely met with any opposition during his advance into Behár. Dáúd Khán retired to Bengal Proper; and Akber left his lieutenants to pursue the conquest, and returned himself to Agra.

A. D. 1575, A. H. 983.

The reduction of Bengal did not prove so easy a task as was expected. Although Dáúd at first withdrew to Orissa, he afterwards twice encountered and routed the royal troops; and when at length defeated himself, and driven to the shores of the Bay of Bengal, he was strong enough to make terms and to retain the province of Orissa for himself. One of the most distinguished of the commanders in this war was Rája Tódar Mal, so celebrated as Akber's minister of finance. He and the other commanders were withdrawn after the peace, and an officer of high rank was left as governor of Bengal. He died from the influence of the climate of Gour, or Lacnouti, the ancient capital, to which he had returned after it had been for some time deserted: and his successor had scarcely taken charge, when Dáúd renewed the war and overran Bengal, compelling the king's troops to concentrate and wait for assistance from Behár. A battle at length took place, and terminated in the defeat and death of Dáúd. Soon after, the fort of Rohtás, in Behár, which had held

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A. D. 1576, A. H. 984.

out till now, was compelled, by a long blockade, to surrender to a force employed for the purpose. Bengal and Behár were now reannexed to the empire; and the remains of the Afghán monarchy in Hindostan were thus completely extinguished.

State of that province.

But the situation of those provinces was unfavourable to their permanent tranquillity: the hilly and woody tract on the south, the vast mountains and forests on the north, the marshes and jungles towards the sea, still afforded a safe retreat for the turbulent; and there was no want of materials to spread disaffection. Bengal had not before been subjugated by the Moguls, and was filled with Afghán settlers, whose numbers had been greatly increased by the retreat of such of their nation as refused to enter the service of the house of Tamerlane after its conquest of Upper Hindostan. The Mogul chiefs had profited by the unsettled state of the country: they seized on the jágírs of the Afgháns for their own benefit, and accounted for the rest of the royal revenue as expended on military operations. The conquest was completed about the time of Akber's great financial reform, and the governor was required to remit a revenue to the treasury; while all jágírs were strictly inquired into, and musters of the troops for which each was held were rigorously exacted. The new conquerors were too conscious of their strength to submit to these regulations.* They revolted first in Bengal, and soon afterwards in Behár; when Akber found himself

Mutiny of the troops in Bengal and Behár.

* Stewart's History of Bengal. Muntakhab al Tawárikh.

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completely dispossessed of the fruits of his victory, and a formidable army of 30,000 men in the field to oppose him. After much ill success on the part of the king's troops, Rája Tódar Mal was sent to recover the province. He was at first successfull, partly owing to his influence with the Hindú zemíndárs; but some harsh pecuniary demands on the part of the vizír at Delhi led to numerous desertions, even among the chiefs unconnected with the rebels, and it was not till the end of the third year from the breaking out of the rebellion that it was finally put an end to by Azíz, or A'zim Khán, who had succeeded Tódar Mal, and seems to have bought off many chiefs, and continued their lands to many of the troops (Afgháns as well as Moguls), who had heretofore enjoyed them.*

A. D. 1579. A. H. 987.

Insurrection of the Afgháns in Bengal.

The old Afghán adherents of Dáúd Khán had not been idle during these dissensions among the Moguls. They assembled soon after the rebellion broke out under a chief called Kuttu, and before long made themselves masters of Orissa and of all the country up to the river Damóder, near Bardwán. Azíz, having left the province after the rebellion was subdued, Rája Mán Sing was sent from Cábul to conduct this new war. He entered the country held by the Afgháns, and cantoned for the rains near the present site of Calcutta. A large detachment of his was afterwards defeated by the enemy, and his son, who commanded it, taken prisoner; so that his affairs were an unfavourable

* Stewart's History of Bengal.

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aspect; when Kuttu luckily died (1590), and I'sa, a prudent and moderate chief, became guardian to his sons. With this chief an agreement was soon concluded by Mán Sing, allowing the sons of Kuttu to retain Orissa as dependents or subjects of the emperor. After two years, I'sa died. His successor incurred general odium, by seizing on the revenues of the great temple of Jagannáth. Akber took advantage of this mistake to send Mán Sing again with an army, who defeated the Afgháns on the borders of Bengal, drove them to Cattak, and, by concessions of jágírs, added to more rigorous measures, finally reduced them to submission.

Final settlement of the province after fifteen years of disturbance.

Their last struggle was in 1592; and thenceforth (although Osmán, one of Kuttu's sons, rebelled again in A. D. 1600) the pretensions of the Afgháns to the possession of the province may be considered as quite extinguished.

Revolt of Prince Hakím.

While his officers were employed in the settlement of Bengal, Akber's own attention was drawn to a distant part of his dominions. His brother, Mírza Hakím, who had long been undisturbed in Cábul, was led, by a wish for further aggrandizement, again to invade the Panjáb. Rája Mán Sing, the governor, was compelled to retire before him, and to take refuge in Láhór; and Akber found it necessary to proceed, himself, with an army to raise the siege and deliver the province. Mírza Hakím retreated before him; and the emperor, whose situation no longer required his allowing such attacks to pass with impunity, followed up his

A. D. 1581, February; A. H. 989, Moharram.

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success, crossed the Indus, and, after a feeble opposition on the part of his brother, took possession of Cábul. Mírza Hakím fled to the mountains. He afterwards made his submission, and Akber generously restored him to his government. He thenceforth, probably, remained in real subordination to his brother.

Reduction of Cábul. 1581

After this settlement, Akber returned to Agra, leaving Rája Bhagwán Dás of Jeipúr governor of the Panjáb. On his way he founded the fort which still stands at the principal ferry of the Indus, and gave it the name of Attoc Benáris.

Insurrection in Guzerát.

After the abdication of Mozaffer Sháh of Guzerát, he accompanied the army to Agra, and was kept for some time about the court. He had latterly been allowed to reside at a jágír, which had been given to him, and was no longer looked on with suspicion (from 1573 to 1581). In this case, as in many others, Akber paid dear for his magnanimity. New intrigues arose in Guzerát, and Mozaffer was invited, by Shír Khán Fuládi, one of the principal actors in the former troubles, to fly from his residence in Hindostan, and put himself at the head of his old kingdom. An insurrection ensued, which reached to such a height that the king's troops were obliged to withdraw to Patan, in the north of Guzerát, while Mozaffer Sháh occupied Ahmedábád, Baróch, and almost the whole of the province. Mírza Khán (the son of Behrám Khán) was sent to quell this rebellion. He defeated Mozaffer, and recovered the conti-

A. D. 1581, A. H. 989.

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nental part of Guzerát; but Mozaffer retired among the almost independent chieftains of the peninsula, repelled the attacks of Mírza Khán, and made various attempts, at different periods, to recover his dominions. His efforts were all unsuccessful; but the endeavours of the Moguls to penetrate his retreat in the peninsula were attended with as little effect; and no result was produced for a long period, except alternate victories and heavy loss on both sides.

A. D. 1584, January; A. H. 992, Moharram.

On one occasion, indeed, in A. D. 1589, Azíz made his way to the sea coast on the south, and fought a great battle. The victory was doubtful, but was followed by the retreat of the Moguls; and it was not till four years after this period, and twelve after his rebellion (in A. D. 1593), that Mozaffer Sháh was taken, on an incursion into the settled part of the province, and cut his throat with a razor while on his way to the court at Agra.

CHAP. II.

FROM 1586 TO THE DEATH OF AKBER.

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AFTER Mozaffer had been driven into the peninsula, Akber began to take part in the disputes of the Deckan (in A. D. 1586). His first attempts failed, as will hereafter be related; and before long he was fully occupied by the affairs of his own northern dominions. In the year 1585 his brother, Mírza Hakím, died; and, although he had no difficulty in taking the territories held by that prince into his immediate possession, yet he heard, about the same time, that Mírzá Solimán had been driven out of Badakhshán by Abdullah, the Kháu of the Uzbeks; and it was probably apprehension of the further progress of that formidable neighbour which chiefly induced him to go in person to Cábul. Abdullah Khán, however, was contented with Badakhshán; and as Akber made no attempt to recover that possession of his family, the peace remained undisturbed. The emperor was now in the neighbourhood of the northern mountains, a great portion of which was comprised within his dominions; and he was engaged by this circumstance in wars of a new description, attended with greater difficulties than any he had yet encountered.

Akber interferes in the disputes of the Deckan.

Akber moves to Attoc on the Indus.

The first was the conquest of Cashmír. That celebrated kingdom is an extensive plain, situated

Conquest of Cashmír.

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in the heart of the Hémaláya mountains, and more than half way up their height. Placed, by its elevation, above the reach of the heat of Hindostan, and sheltered by the surrounding mountains from the blasts of the higher regions, it enjoys a delicious climate, and exhibits, in the midst of snowy summits, a scene of continual verdure, and almost of perpetual spring. Trees belonging to different climates are scattered over its surface, while fruits of various kinds and flowers of innumerable descriptions are poured forth with spontaneous profusion over the hills and plains. The level country is watered by rills, which issue from the valleys or fall in cascades down the mountains, and collect in different places, especially in one lake, whose varied banks and floating gardens are the great boast of the valley.

This terrestrial paradise can only be approached by difficult and dangerous passes. The road, though a steep ascent on the whole, often rises and descends over rocky ridges; sometimes winds through long and close defiles; and sometimes runs along the face of precipices overhanging deep and rapid rivers. The higher part of the mountain, from whence the descent into Cashmír commences, is at one season further obstructed, and in some places rendered impassable, by snow.

Cashmír had been ruled by a long succession of Hindú, and sometimes, perhaps, of Tartar princes, from a very remote period till the beginning of the fourteenth century, when it fell into the hands of a

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Mahometan adventurer, and was held by princes of the same religion till the time of Akber's invasion.* The hopes of that enterprising monarch were excited by distractions which prevailed among the reigning family; and while at Attok, in A. D. 1586, he sent a detachment, under Sháh Rókh Mírza, the son of Mírza Solimán (who had entered his service when driven out of Badakhshán), and his own brother-in-law, Rája Bhagwán Dás of Jeipúr, to take possession of the prize thus exposed to hazard by the contention of its owners.

A. D. 1586, A. H. 994.

The obstacles already mentioned, especially the snow, retarded the progress of the army; and although it, at last, penetrated through a pass which had not been guarded, yet its supplies had been exhausted in these unproductive and inaccessible mountains, and the remaining difficulties seemed so considerable that the two chiefs entered into a treaty with the ruling power of Cashmír, by which the sovereignty of Akber was acknowledged, but his practical interference with the province forbidden. The emperor disapproved of this engage-

* The History of Cashmír called the "Raj Taringi" is remarkable, as the only specimen of that department of literature in the Shanscrit language. It is executed by four different hands; the first of whom wrote in A. D. 1148, but quotes the works of earlier historians with a precision that gives confidence in his accuracy. The early part, as in all history, is fabulous, but it gradually approaches to consistency in facts and dates until about A. D. 600, from which period the chronology is perfectly accurate. (Wilson's History of Cashmír, *Transactions of the Asiatic Society*, vol. xv. pp. 3. 85.)

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ment; and next year sent another army, whose efforts were attended with more success. The dissensions which prevailed in Cashmír extended to the troops stationed to defend the pass: part came over to the Moguls; the rest quitted their post and retired to the capital. The barrier once surmounted, Cashmír lay at the mercy of the invaders. The king submitted, was enrolled among the nobles of Delhi, and was assigned a large jágír in Behár. Akber afterwards made a journey to Cashmír to enjoy the pleasures of his new conquest. He only repeated his visit twice during the rest of his reign; but Cashmír became the favourite summer retreat of his successors, and still maintains its celebrity as the most delicious spot in Asia, or in the world.

Wars with the north-eastern Afgháns.

Though Akber's next operations were not unprovoked like those against Cashmír, they were opposed with much greater obstinacy, and terminated with less success. They were directed against the north-eastern tribes of the Afgháns, who inhabit the hilly countries round the plain of Pesháwer.

Description of those tribes and of their country.

The plain is of great extent and prodigious fertility, combining the productive soil of India with many of the advantages of the temperate countries in the West. It is bounded on the north by the great chain of Hindú Cush; on the west by the high range of Sólimán; and on the south by a lower range, called the hills of Kheiber, which extends from that of Sólimán to the Indus. This tract forms about one tenth of the proper country

of the Afgháns. Its inhabitants are now called Berduránis, and are distinguished from the other Afgháns by some peculiarities of dialect and manners.

The northern part belongs to the Eusofzeis, who are by much the most considerable of these north-eastern tribes, and who afford a good specimen of the rest. Their territory includes the northern part of the plain of Pesháwer, and stretches up the mountains to the snowy ridge of Hindú Cush, embracing some valleys of thirty or forty miles in length, and corresponding breadth, from each of which other valleys run up on both sides; all rivalling Cashmír in climate and beauty, and all ending in narrow glens, hemmed in by high precipices or lost in woods and forests. Such a country is full of intricacy and obstruction to an invading army, but affords easy communications to the natives, who know the passes from one valley to another, and who are used to make their way even when there is no path to assist them. The original population was Indian, consisting, probably, of descendants of the ancient Paropamisadœ.* It had, at a comparatively recent period, been conquered and reduced to a sort of villanage by certain Afghán tribes; and they, in their turn, were dispossessed, about a century before this period, by the Eusofzeis, a tribe from near Candahár, which had just suffered a similar expulsion from its native seats. With such possessions, and

* See Vol. I. p. 442.

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with their numerous vassals, the Eusofzeis added the pride of wealth to the independence natural to mountaineers; and their self-importance was increased by their democratic constitution. Though each of their clans had a hereditary chief, he had no authority in time of peace, except to consult the people and to make known their wishes to the other clans. Internal affairs were conducted by the inhabitants of each village; causes were tried by a sort of jury, and meetings for one or other purpose were constantly held in the public apartment of the village, which served also as a place of relaxation for the inhabitants, and of entertainment to guests or passing strangers. The land was equally divided; and equality was maintained by new distributions of it from time to time. The Indian vassals were well treated, but they had no share in the government; and the conquerors were not more distinguished by their fair complexions than the superiority apparent in their demeanour.

The other tribes inhabiting the plains and the lower hills to the south had been longer settled there, and had had more intercourse with the Mahometans of India; but some of those in the Sólimáni mountains had a still more rugged country and less civilised manners than the Eusofzeis. The emperor Báber had endeavoured to bring the north-eastern tribes under his dominion, and partially succeeded with some. He failed entirely with the Eusofzeis, though he employed

the means of conciliation as well as destructive inroads into the accessible part of their country.

Sect of the Roushenías.

The present quarrel originated in a fanatical spirit, which had sprung up, many years before, among this portion of the Afgháns. A person named Báyazíd had then assumed the character of a prophet; had set aside the Korán, and taught that nothing existed except God, who filled all space, and was the substance of all forms. The Divinity despised all worship and rejected all mortifications; but he exacted implicit obedience to his prophet, who was the most perfect manifestation of himself. The believers were authorised to seize on the lands and property of infidels, and were promised, in time, the dominion of the whole earth. Báyazíd soon formed a numerous sect (which took the name of Roushenía, or enlightened), and established his authority in the hills of Sólimán and Kheiber, with an influence over the neighbouring tribes. He was so long successful, that the government was obliged to make an exertion to put him down. His own presumption and the blind confidence of his followers led him to meet the royal troops in the plain. He was defeated with great slaughter, and died soon after of fatigue and vexation.* His sons dug up his bones, and bore them, in an ark, at the head of their column; but they ceased to be formidable beyond their hills till about A. D. 1585, when one of the youngest, named Jelála, assumed

* Dr. Leyden's Account of the Raushenía Sect, *Asiatic Researches*, vol. ii. p. 363.

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the command, and exercised it with such vigour, that the ordinary government of Cábul was found incompetent to resist him. When prince Hakím died, and Cábul came directly under Akber, the government was given to Rája Mán Sing, whose talents and connection with the emperor were supported by the forces which he could draw from his hereditary dominions. Even these advantages did not prove effectual; and one of the professed objects of Akber's expedition to the Indus was to settle the Afgháns. With this view he sent successive detachments from his camp on the east bank of the Indus; and commenced his operations by an attack on the Eusofzeis, although they had long before quarrelled with the Roushenías, and renounced the tenets of the sect.

Destruction of the invading army by the Eusofzeis.

The chief commanders in the force detached were Zein Khán, the emperor's foster-brother, and Rája Bír Bal, his greatest personal favourite. So great was the importance attached to this expedition, that Abul Fazl relates that he himself drew lots with Bír Bal who should command one of the divisions, and was much mortified by being disappointed in this opportunity of distinguishing himself: his brother Feizi accompanied the force.* The open country was soon overrun and laid waste; but on Rája Bír Bal's advancing up one of the valleys, he found himself, by degrees, involved among defiles, where there was no outlet, and was at last obliged to give up the enterprise, and re-

A. D. 1586, January; A. H. 994, Safar.

* Akbernámeh.

trace his steps to the plain. Zein Khán showed more perseverance: he made his way through many rugged and dangerous mountains, and even built a redoubt in a place convenient for controlling the neighbourhood; but his troops were by this time so much exhausted by fatigue, and so much harassed by the increasing numbers and audacity of their enemies, that he was compelled to form a junction with Bír Bal; and both combined would have been unable to pursue their operations if they had not received further reinforcements from Akber.

They now resumed their plan of invasion. Bír Bal was on bad terms with Zein Khán, and it was contrary to the strongest remonstrances of the latter that they determined to risk their whole force in a desperate attack on the Afgháns. The resolution taken, they advanced into the mountains. They soon came to a strong pass, which Bír Bal succeeded in ascending; but on reaching the top, after a day of fatigue, he was set on by the Afgháns, with such effect, that his men dispersed, and made their way, as they best could, to the plain. Zein Khán, who had remained at the foot of the pass, was attacked at the same time, and defended himself with difficulty, during the night and part of the next day, when both chiefs were at last enabled to come to a halt, and to collect their scattered forces. Zein Khán recommended that they should endeavour to capitulate with the enemy; but Bír Bal could not be prevailed on to accede to

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any of his suggestions; and, having received information that the Afgháns intended to complete the ruin of the army by a night attack, he marched off his troops without consulting Zein Khán, and endeavoured to make his way through a defile, which would have afforded him the means of retreating to the open country. The intelligence was probably given for the purpose of drawing him into an ambuscade, for he had no sooner reached the gorge at the head of the pass, than he was assailed on all sides by the Afgháns, who overwhelmed him with showers of stones and arrows, and, rushing down the sides of the hills, fell, sword in hand, on his astonished soldiers. All attempts to preserve order on his part were vain; men, horses, and elephants were huddled together in their flight down the defile; and Bír Bal himself, with several other chiefs of note, were slain in the rout and slaughter which ensued. Nor was Zein Khán more fortunate in his position on the plain: for, although during the day he kept up an orderly retreat, amidst swarms of archers, matchlockmen, and slingers; yet, after a short respite which he was allowed in the evening, the alarm of "The Afgháns!" was again raised, and his troops fled in disorder, during the darkness of the night, losing many men killed, and more prisoners, while he, himself, escaped on foot, and made his way with difficulty to Attok.*

* Akbernámeh. Muntakhab ul Tawárikh. Kháfi Khán. Abul Fazl must have been minutely informed of the real his-

The news of this disaster spread alarm in the emperor's camp. One of his sons, Prince Morád, under the guidance of Rája Tódar Mal, was ordered out with a force to check the approach of the Afgháns. After the first apprehension had subsided, the prince was recalled, and the force left under the command of Tódar Mal and Rája Mán Sing.

Akber refused to see Zein Khán, and was long inconsolable for the death of Bír Bal. As the rája's body was never found, a report gained currency that he was still alive among the prisoners: and it was so much encouraged by Akber, that, a long time afterwards, an impostor appeared in his name; and as this second Bír Bal died before he reached the court, Akber again wore mourning as for his friend. Bír Bal's favour was owing to his companionable qualities, no less than to his solid merit. He was a man of very lively conversa-

tory of this transaction; but his anxiety to soften the disgrace of Akber's arms, and to refrain from any thing that may reflect on Bír Bal, was so great, that his account is confused and contradictory, and I have been obliged to supply his deficiencies from the "Muntakhab ul Tawárikh." As a proof of the defects I have ascribed to him, I may mention that, although he gives a full and even eloquent description of the total destruction of the army, he concludes by stating the loss at 500 men. Kháfi Khán, with equal inaccuracy, asserts that of 40,000 or 50,000 horse and foot, *not a single person* escaped alive. The defeat seems to have taken place in the mountains of Swát, and the names given to the passes are Karah, or Karah-Korah, and Bilandzei.

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tion, and many of his witty sayings are still current in India.*

The Eusofzeis made no attempt to pursue their advantages. Tódar Mal and Mán Sing took up and fortified positions in different parts of the country, and prevented the Eusofzeis from cultivating their portion of the plain. By these means, according to Abul Fazl, they were reduced to unqualified submission; and, in reality, some temporary agreement or tacit understanding was brought about, so as to leave Mán Sing at liberty to act against the Roushenías, under Jelála, in the southern and western hills.

A. D. 1586, A. H. 995. Accordingly, in the course of the same summer, he marched against them; and, after being exposed to considerable hazard, he succeeded in gaining a partial success. The Roushenías, however, stood their ground, and the ascendancy of the

A. D. 1587, A. H. 995. government was not restored till the next year, when a combined attack was made by Mán Sing, from Cábul, and a force detached by Akber, to cross the Indus to the south of the salt range, and come in on the enemy from their rear. Jelála was at that time completely defeated; he, however, almost immediately renewed his operations, which

From A. D. 1587 to A. D. 1600. were kept up for many years, and were sometimes aided by contests between the government and the Eusofzeis, which produced no permanent results. During this time, it was the policy of the Moguls

* Chiefly from the Muntakhab ul Tawárikh.

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to prevent the cultivation of the fertile plains and valleys; so that Jelála was often compelled, by want of supplies, to leave the strong countries he occupied, and expose himself to the risk of battles on more equal ground. He was several times obliged to fly to the mountains of the Cáfirs, and once to the court of Abdúllah, the Khán of the Uzbeks: still he always returned and renewed his attacks; and in A.D. 1600, he was in sufficient strength to obtain possession of the city of Ghazni.

This was the last of Jelála's exploits. He was soon driven out of the city; and, being repulsed and wounded in an attempt which he afterwards made to recover it, he was pursued on his retreat, and was overtaken and killed before he could make his way to a place of safety.

The religious war was continued by his successors, during the two next reigns (of Jehángír and Sháh Jehán); and when, at last, the enthusiasm of the Roushenías wore out, the free spirit of the Afgháns, which had owed nothing to its success, survived its extinction: the north-eastern tribes were never more formidable than in the reign of Aurangzíb; and the Eusofzeis have resisted repeated attacks from the Mogul emperors, and afterwards from the kings of Persia and Cábul, and retain their turbulent independence undiminished to the present day.*

Imperfect settlement at the end of fifteen years.

* Abul Fazl's account of these wars is a curious specimen of his adulation and his inconsistency. Immediately after Bír Bal's calamity (that is, in the first year of the war), he says:

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The nature of the war with Jelála had not, latterly, been such as to prevent Akber's employing his troops in the adjoining countries. It was some years before the death of that leader that he made the important acquisitions of Sind and Candahár.

Conquest of Sind.

The province of Sind had passed from the Arghúns * into another family of military adventurers, and Akber took advantage of some dissensions which afterwards took place among these new usurpers, to endeavour to recover that old possession of the kings of Delhi. He sent an army from

A. D. 1591, A. H. 999.

Láhór, where he was himself at the time, to enter Sind from the north, and lay siege to the hill fort of Sehwán, the key to Lower Sind, and a place of great importance to the security of the whole province.

The success of this attempt was prevented by the chief of Sind, who drew near with his army,

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"The highlands were soon cleared of the rubbish of rebellion. Many were killed, and a large number took refuge in Irán and Túrán (Persia and Tartary); and thus the countries of Bájaur, Swád, and Tírah, which are rarely to be equalled in the world for their climate and fertility, and the plenty of their fruits, were cleansed of these wicked wretches." Yet this alleged conclusion of the war does not prevent Abul Fazl's relating the various events which took place during the course of it in the remaining fifteen years that are included in his history. He even accounts for Akber's fourteen years' stay in the Panjáb, by "his being at one time engaged in suppressing the Tájiks (Rousheniás) and at another in reducing the inhabitants of the northern hills. —(*Chalmers's MS. Translations of the Akbernámeh.*)

* See pp. 140. 228.

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and intrenched himself in such a situation that Akber's general could neither attack him nor carry on the siege while he was so near.

This difficulty was surmounted by the sagacity of the emperor himself. He sent another detachment to enter Sind by the way of Amercót; and, by thus distracting the attention of the chief, deprived him of the advantages of his position, and, before long, reduced him to give up the province. He received very favourable terms, and was appointed by Akber, according to that monarch's practice, to a high rank among the nobles of the empire. A. D. 1592, A. H. 1000.

It is mentioned in the "Akbernámeh" that the chief of Sind employed Portuguese soldiers in this war, and had also 200 natives dressed as Europeans. These were, therefore, the first *Sepoys* in India.

The same chief is also said to have had a fort defended by an Arab garrison: the first instance in which I have observed any mention of that description of mercenaries, afterwards so much esteemed.

Recovery of Candahár. 1594

After the treacherous seizure of Candahár by Humáyun, the king of Persia made several attempts to recover possession. He had no success until the beginning of Akber's reign, when the divided state of the monarchy enabled him to effect his purpose. Similar disorders in the early part of the reign of Sháh Abbás gave a corresponding advantage to Akber. The Persian chiefs fell out

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among themselves; one of them fled to India; and all parties ultimately turned their eyes to the same quarter; so that, at length, both the town and territory fell, without a blow, into the hands of the Mogul prince.

A. D. 1594, A. H. 1003.

These proceedings led to no quarrel with Persia: Sháh Abbás was fully employed at home, and, being desirous of Akber's assistance against the Uzbeks, he soon after renewed the friendly intercourse which had long been suspended between the courts, and patiently waited his opportunity of recovering Candahár; which did not present itself till after the death of Akber.

Complete settlement of Hindostan.

The acquisition of Candahár placed Akber in complete possession of his hereditary kingdom beyond the Indus (the war with the north-eastern Afgháns being now confined to the mountains): and nearly at the same time he had completed the conquest of Hindostan Proper. Sind had fallen in 1592; the last attempt at rebellion in Cashmír was quashed about the same time; the reduction of Bengal was completed by the submission of Orissa; and all disturbances in Guzerát terminated by the death of Mozaffer in 1593; so that the whole of Hindostan to the Nerbadda was more under Akber's authority than it had been under any former king. The rána of Oudipúr, indeed, continued unsubdued; but the other Rájpút chiefs were changed from jealous tributaries to active and attached adherents.

Expedition to the Deckan.

The next object for Akber was to extend his

dominions over the Deckan. As early as A. D. 1586 he had taken up the cause of Burhán, a brother of Murtezza Nizám Sháh, the fourth king of Ahmednagar, who claimed to administer the government on the ground of the mental derangement of its actual possessor. An expedition sent by Akber from Málwa to support this claim had failed, and Burhán remained for some years under Akber's protection. At a later period (A. D. 1592), after his brother's death, Burhán acquired possession of his hereditary kingdom without any aid from Akber; but he found it divided by internal faction, and engaged in war with his neighbour the king of Bíjapúr. All these distractions were increased on the death of Burhán. That event happened after a short reign; and in A. D. 1595 there were no less than four parties in the field, each supporting a separate claimant. The chief of the party that was in possession of the capital had recourse to the aid of the Moguls; and, at his invitation, Prince Morád entered the Deckan from Guzerát, and Mírza Khán, the Kháni Khánán, from Málwa, the two armies forming a junction within a short distance of Ahmednagar. But, in the mean time, the chief by whom they were called in had been obliged to leave the capital, and it was now in the hands of Chánd Sultána, or Chánd Bíbí, one of the most distinguished women that have ever appeared in India. This princess was acting as regent for her infant nephew, Bahádur Nizám Sháh, and she no sooner was aware of the approach of the Mo-

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A. D. 1595, about Nov.; A. H. 1004, about the end of Rabi ul Akhir. Chánd Sultána.

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guls than she applied herself to conciliate the king of Bíjapúr, her relation, and at the same time to reconcile the heads of the other internal parties; that all might, for a time at least, unite to resist the power whose ambition threatened equal danger to them all. So successful was her appeal, that one of the chiefs, Nehang, an Abyssinian, immediately set out to join her, and cut his way into Ahmednagar while the Moguls were in the act of investing the place: the other two likewise laid aside their private animosities, and joined the army of Bíjapúr, then marching against the Moguls.

Her defence of Ahmednagar.

These preparations increased the eagerness of Prince Morád. He pressed on the siege, and had already run two mines under the works, when they were discovered and rendered useless by the countermines of the besieged, Chánd Bíbí herself superintending the workmen, and exposing herself to the same dangers as the rest. The third mine was fired before the means taken to render it ineffectual were completed: the counterminers were blown up, a wide breach was made in the wall, and such a sudden terror was struck among those who defended it, that they were on the point of deserting their posts and leaving the road open to the storming party which was advancing. But they were soon recalled by Chánd Bíbí, who flew to the breach in full armour, with a veil over her face and a naked sword in her hand; and having thus checked the first assault of the Moguls, she continued her exertions till every power within

the place was called forth against them: matchlock-balls and arrows poured on them from the works; guns were brought to bear upon the breach; rockets, gunpowder, and other combustibles were thrown among the crowd in the ditch; and the garrison in front opposed so steady a resistance, that, after an obstinate and bloody contest, which lasted till evening, the Moguls were obliged to draw off their troops and postpone the renewal of the assault till the next day. But the garrison and inhabitants had been raised to enthusiasm by the example of the regent; and, as her activity and energy were not slackened during the night, the Moguls found, when the day dawned, that the breach had been built up to such a height as to render it impossible to mount it without new mines. Meanwhile the confederates drew near; and, though the Moguls were still superior in the field, they were unwilling to risk all on the chance of a battle. Chánd Bíbí, on the other hand, was well aware of the precarious duration of a combination like the present; and both parties were well satisfied to come to terms, the king of Ahmednagar surrendering to the emperor his claims on Berár, of which he had recently made a conquest.*

Peace agreed on. A. H. 1004, Rajab; A. D. 1596, about February.

* Chánd Bíbí is the favourite heroine of the Deckan, and is the subject of many fabulous stories. Even Kháfi Khán mentions her having fired silver balls into the Mogul camp; and the common tradition at Ahmednagar is, that when her shot was expended, she loaded her guns successively with copper, with silver, and with gold coin, and that it was not till she had begun to fire away jewels, that she consented to make peace.

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War renewed, and extended to the whole of the Deckan.

The Moguls had not long withdrawn, when fresh dissensions broke out in Ahmednagar. One Mohammed Khán, whom Chánd Bíbí had appointed péshwa*, or prime minister, plotted against her authority, and finally applied for aid to Prince Morád. The prince was already engaged in a dispute with the Deckan princes about the boundaries of Berár; both parties had once more recourse to hostilities, and before the expiration of a year from the peace they again met each other in the field in greater force than before.

The king of Cándésh, who acknowledged himself Akber's subject, appeared on his side on this occasion, while the king of Golcónda had now joined his forces to those of Bíjapúr and Ahmednagar. The battle took place on the river Godáveri: though maintained with great fury for two days, its result was indecisive. The Moguls claimed the victory, but made no attempt to advance; and their ill success, together with the disagreement between Prince Morád and the Kháni Khánán, induced Akber to recall them both. Abul Faz! (the author), who was his prime minister, and had been lately in temporary disgrace, was sent to remove the prince; and, if necessary, to take the command of the army. His representations convinced Akber that his own presence was required: he

A. D. 1596, December, or Jan. 1597.

Akber goes in person to the Deckan.

* The title of péshwa (i. e. leader) had been used under the Bahmani sovereigns. It has since become famous as that under which the Bramin ministers of the rája of Sátára so long governed the Maratta empire.

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therefore left the Panjáb towards the end of 1598 (after a residence of fourteen years in the countries near the Indus); and before the middle of 1599 he arrived on the river Nerbadda. The strong fortress of Doulatábád had been taken before he appeared; several other hill forts fell about the same time; and as soon as the royal army reached Burhánpúr, on the Tapti, a force was sent forward under his son, Prince Dániál, and the Kháni Khánán, to lay siege to Ahmednagar. Chánd Bíbí's government was now in a more disturbed state than ever. Nehang, the Abyssinian chief, who had joined her in Ahmednagar at the beginning of the former siege, was now besieging her. He drew off on the approach of the Moguls; but the intestine disturbances still rendered a defence hopeless; and Chánd Bíbí was negotiating a peace with the Moguls, when the soldiery, instigated by her factious opponents, burst into the female apartments and put her to death. Their treason brought its own reward: in a few days the breach was practicable; the storm took place; the Moguls gave no quarter to the fighting men; and the young king, who fell into their hands, was sent prisoner to the hill fort of Gwáliór. But the fall of the capital did not produce the submission of the kingdom. Another pageant king was set up, and the dynasty was not finally extinguished till the reign of Sháh Jehán, in A. D. 1637.

Death of Chánd Sultána.

Taking of Ahmednager.

A. D. 1600, about July; A. H. 1009, Safar.

Before the siege of Ahmednagar, a disagreement had taken place between Akber and his vassal,

Conquest of Cándésh.

Akber re-

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turns to Hindostan,

the former king of Cándésh, which induced the emperor to annex that country to his immediate dominions. The military operations which ensued occupied Akber for nearly a year, and it was not till some months after the storm of Ahmednagar that the reduction of the province was completed by the fall of Asírghar, when Akber appointed Prince Dániál viceroy of Cándésh and Berár, with the Kháni Khánán for his adviser; and marched, himself, to Agra, leaving the command in the Deckan and the prosecution of the conquest of Ahmednagar to Abul Fazl.

Spring of A. D. 1601, end of A. H. 1009.

Refractory conduct of his eldest son, Selim.

Before his departure Akber had received embassies and presents from the kings of Bíjapúr and Golcónda, and had married his son Dániál to the daughter of the former prince.* Akber's return to Hindostan was rendered necessary by the refractory conduct of his eldest son Selím.† The prince, who was now turned of thirty, does not appear to have been deficient in natural abilities; but his temper had been exasperated, and his understanding impaired, by the excessive use of wine and opium.‡ He had always looked on Abul

* The account of the operations in the Deckan is from the "Akbernámeh," and Ferishta, especially his "History of Ahmednagar," vol. iii.

† Afterwards the Emperor Jehángír.

‡ His own account is, that in his youth he used to drink at least twenty cups of wine a day, each cup containing half a sír (six ounces, *i. e.* nearly half a pint); and that if he was a single hour without his beverage, his hands began to shake, and he was unable to sit at rest. After he came to the throne, he

Fazl as his mortal enemy; and the temporary disgrace of that minister, and his subsequent removal to the Deckan, were concessions made by Akber to the complaints and jealousy of his son. On his own departure for the Deckan, Akber declared Selím his successor, appointed him viceroy of Ajmír, and committed to him the conduct of the war with the rána of Oudipúr, sending Rája Mán Sing to assist him with his arms and counsels. After much loss of time Selím set forth on this duty, and had made some progress in the fulfilment of it, when intelligence arrived of the revolt under Osmán in Bengal, of which province Mán Sing was the viceroy. He immediately set off for his government; and Selím, now free from all control, and seeing the emperor's whole force employed in other quarters, was tempted to seize on the provinces of Hindostan for himself. He marched to Agra; and, as the governor of that city contrived to elude his demands for its surrender, he proceeded to Allahábád, and took possession of the

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A. D. 1600, about Nov.; A. H. 1009, Shában.

says, he drank only five cups (*i. e.* little more than a quart), and only took it after nightfall. It does not appear how long he adhered to this sobriety. (*Price's Jehángír*, pp. 6, 7.) Drinking seems to have been the vice of the age among the Mahometan kings and great men: Báber and Humáyun both drank hard: the princes of Túrk dynasties seem all to have had the same propensity; and even the Sófis of Persia, so lately elevated by the sanctity of their family, not only drank to excess in private, but made their piles of cups and flagons of gold and jewels compose a great part of the splendour of their court.

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surrounding countries of Oud and Behár. He at the same time seized on the local treasure, amounting to thirty lacs of rupees (300,000*l.*) and assumed the title of king.

However much Akber may have been afflicted by this conduct, he determined not to drive his son to extremities. He wrote a temperate letter, warning him of the consequences of his conduct, and assuring him of his own undiminished affection, if he would in time return to the path of his duty. As these remonstrances were soon followed by Akber's return to Agra, Selím replied in the most submissive terms, and actually marched as far as Etáyah with the professed intention of waiting on his father. Whether he in reality intended his approach to be hostile, or entertained apprehensions for his own safety, he spared no efforts to raise troops, and had assembled such a body that Akber sent to desire him to advance slightly attended, or else to return to Allahábád. Selím chose the latter course. It is not improbable that this retreat was procured by negotiation; for it was soon followed by a grant of Bengal and Orissa by Akber to his son, and by renewed professions of fidelity and devotion on the part of the latter. During this deceitful calm, the prince had an opportunity, which he did not let slip, of revenging his own supposed injuries, while he inflicted the severest blow on the feelings of his father. Abul Fazl had at this time been recalled from the Deckan, and was advancing with a small escort towards Gwáliór,

Murder of Abul Fazl.

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when he fell into an ambuscade laid for him by Narsing Deó, rája of O'rcha in Bundélcand, at the instigation of Prince Selím; and although he defended himself with great gallantry, he was cut off with most of his attendants, and his head sent to the prince.* Akber was deeply affected by the intelligence of this event. He shed abundance of tears, and passed two days and nights without food or sleep. He immediately sent a force against Narsing Deó, with orders to seize his family, ravage his country, and exercise such severities as on other occasions he never permitted. He does not seem to have known of his son's share in the crime: so far from interrupting his intercourse with him, he sent Selíma Sultána, one of his wives, who had adopted Selím after his own mother's death, to endeavour to soothe his mind and bring about an entire reconciliation.

A. D. 1602, A. H. 1011.

This embassy was attended with the desired effect. Selím soon after repaired to court and made his submission. Akber received him with his usual kindness, and conferred on him the privilege of using the royal ornaments. Selím was

Reconciliation of Akber with Selim.

A. D. 1603, A. H. 1012.

* Selím, in his Memoirs, written after he was emperor, acknowledges the murder, and defends it on the ground that Abul Fazl had persuaded Akber to renounce the Korán, and to deny the divine mission of Mahomet. On the same ground he justifies his own rebellion against his father. (*Price's Memoirs of Jehángir*, p. 38.) One of his first acts after his accession was to promote the murderer, Narsing Deó (who had escaped the unrelenting pursuit of Akber), to a high station, and he always continued to treat him with favour and confidence.

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Continued misconduct of Selim.

soon after again dispatched with a force against the rána of Oudipúr; but he protracted his march on various pretences, and showed so little disposition to involve himself in a permanent contest of that nature, that Akber, desirous to avoid a rupture at all costs, sent him leave to return to his almost independent residence of Allahábád. Here he gave himself up more than ever to debauchery. He had always entertained a peculiar dislike for his eldest son, Prince Khusru, whose own levity and violence seem to have given him reason for his displeasure. Some circumstance in their disputes at this time so affected Khusru's mother (the sister of Rája Mán Sing) that she swallowed poison, and thus added a fresh sting to the already inflamed mind of her husband. Selím's irascibility now became so great that his attendants were afraid to approach him; and he was guilty of cruelties which had been so long disused that they excited horror among all who heard of them, and which were peculiarly repugnant to the humane nature of Akber.*

The emperor was much perplexed as to the course to pursue, and determined to try the effect of a personal interview with his son. He therefore set off for Allahábád, and had advanced one or two

* On one occasion Selim ordered an offender to be flayed alive, and Akber could not conceal his disgust when he heard of it, but said he wondered how the son of a man who could not see a dead beast flayed without pain could be guilty of such cruelty to a human being.

marches, when he heard of the alarming illness of his own mother, and returned just in time to receive her last breath.

On hearing of this journey, and the cause of its suspension, Selím, perhaps animated by some sense of duty or natural affection, or perhaps conceiving that his interests would be best served by his presence at court, determined to repair to Agra, and to submit in good earnest to his father.

He is placed under restraint, and soon after released.

On reaching Agra he was kindly received, but was for a short time placed under restraint; and either to lessen the disgrace of his confinement, or to prevent his indulging in his usual excesses, he was put under the care of a physician. Before long he was restored to freedom and to favour. Still the violence of his temper does not appear to have abated; and his jealousy of his son Khusru led to such a disorderly scene at an elephant fight in Akber's presence, that he was in imminent danger of again incurring the public displeasure of the emperor. Khusru took up the quarrel with as much vehemence as his father, and did all he could to exasperate Akber against him. It is even probable that Khusru had, long ere this, entertained views of supplanting his father in the succession; and Selím, in his Memoirs, appears to have been convinced that Akber at one time had serious thoughts of such a supersession *; but the real favourite with Akber, as well as with Selím himself, was Khur-

His quarrels with his own son, Khusru.

* Price's Memoirs of Jehángír, p. 33.

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ram*, the third and youngest son of the latter; and their preference of that prince was among the principal causes of the discontent of his elder brother.

Death of Dániál, Akber's third son.

Akber had, some years before, lost his eldest son, Morád: he now received accounts of the death of his third son, Dániál, who fell a victim to intemperance in the thirtieth year of his age. His health having already received a severe shock from his excess, he was obliged to pledge his word to his father to leave off the use of wine, and was so surrounded by people of the emperor's, that he was unable to gratify his propensity, which had become irresistible. His resource was to have liquor secretly conveyed to him in the barrel of a fowling piece; and having thus again free access to indulgence, he soon brought his life to a close. This calamity was felt by Akber in the degree that was to be expected from the strength of his attachments; and it is probable that his domestic afflictions, and the loss of his intimate friends, began to prey upon his spirits and undermine his health.

Sickness of Akber.

He appears to have been for some time ill†, when, in the middle of September, 1605, his complaint came on with additional violence, accompanied by total loss of appetite; and it became apparent, before long, that there were little hopes of his recovery. For the last ten days he was confined to his bed; and although he appears to have

* Afterwards Sháh Jehán.

† Price's Memoirs of Jehángír, p. 70.

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retained his faculties to the last, he was no longer capable of taking part in business. From this time all eyes were directed to the succession, and the court became an arena for the struggles of the contending parties. Selím was the acknowledged heir, and the only remaining son of the emperor; but his rebellion had weakened his reputation, and he was now in a sort of disgrace, removed from his troops, and from all those over whom he was accustomed to exercise authority. On the other hand, Rája Mán Sing was maternal uncle to Khusru, who was moreover married to the daughter of Azíz, the Khán i A'zim, the first of Akber's generals; and those great personages, foreseeing an increase to their own power in the succession of their young relation, took immediate measures for securing the palace, which forms also the citadel of Agra, and made all dispositions for placing Khusru on the throne. Selím was now justly alarmed for his personal safety, and forbore visiting the palace on pretence of illness. His son, Prince Khurram, though only a boy, disregarded both his father's injunctions and his own danger, and declared that he would never quit his grandfather while he continued to live. Akber was distressed by his son's absence, of which he surmised the cause. He repeatedly expressed his anxiety to see him, and again pronounced him the lawful successor to the kingdom, while he expressed his desire that Khusru should be provided for by a grant of the province of Bengal. These declarations, together with the

Intrigues regarding the succession.

Unsuccessful combination to set aside Selím.

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exertions of some of the most respectable nobles, who still adhered to Selím, had a great effect in drawing off the inferior chiefs who had attached themselves to the opposite party; and Azíz soon perceived that he was likely to be deserted if he persevered, and took the prudent course of opening a private negotiation with Selím. Mán Sing, whose influence depended on the loyalty of his followers to himself and not to the emperor, was not exposed to the same danger; but, finding himself left alone, and having received flattering overtures from Selím, *he* also at length promised his support to the heir apparent, who now repaired to the palace, and was affectionately received by the dying monarch. The last moments of Akber are only recorded by his successor. He says that, at this interview, Akber desired him to bring all his omrahs into the chamber where he was lying; "for," said he, "I cannot bear that any misunderstanding should subsist between you and those who have, for so many years, shared in my toils and been the companions of my glory." When they were assembled he delivered a suitable address to them; and, after wistfully regarding them all round, he desired them to forgive any offences of which he might have been guilty towards any of them. Selím now threw himself at his feet, and burst into a passion of tears; but Akber pointed to his favourite scymitar, and made signs to his son to bind it on in his presence. He seems afterwards to have recovered from this exhaustion: he addressed himself to Selím, and

Death of Akber.

earnestly conjured him to look to the comfort of the ladies of his family, and not to forget or forsake his old friends and dependents. After this he permitted one of the chief mullahs, who was a personal friend of Selím's, to be brought to him, and in his presence he repeated the Mahometan confession of faith, and died in all the forms of a good Mussulman.*

His character.

Akber is described as a strongly built and handsome man, with an agreeable expression of countenance, and very captivating manners.† He was endowed with great personal strength and activity. In his youth he indulged in wine and good living, but early became sober and abstemious, refraining from animal food on particular days, making altogether nearly a fourth part of the year. He was

* Akber was buried near Agra. His tomb is thus described by Bishop Heber. The central building "is a sort of solid pyramid, surrounded externally with cloisters, galleries, and domes, diminishing gradually on ascending it, till it ends in a square platform of white marble surrounded by the most elaborate lattice-work of the same material, in the centre of which is a small altar tomb, also of white marble, carved with a delicacy and beauty which do full justice to the material, and to the graceful forms of the Arabic characters which form its chief ornament." (*Bishop Heber's Narrative*, vol. i. p. 587.) This immense pile served as quarters to an European regiment of dragoons for a year or two after the first conquest of that territory by the British.

† Price's Memoirs of Jehángír, p. 45. The following is the account given of him by the Portuguese Jesuits who went to visit him from Goa. He was about "fifty years old, white like an European, and of sagacious intellect. He received them with singular affability, &c." (*Murray's Discoveries in Asia*, vol. ii. p. 89.)

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always satisfied with very little sleep, and frequently spent whole nights in those philosophical discussions of which he was so fond. Although so constantly engaged in wars, and although he made greater improvements in civil government than any other king of India; yet, by his judicious distribution of his time, and by his talents for the dispatch of business, he always enjoyed abundant leisure for study and amusement. He was fond of witnessing fights of animals, and all exercises of strength and skill; but his greatest pleasure was in hunting, especially in cases like the destruction of tigers, or the capture of herds of wild elephants, which gave a scope to his enjoyment of adventure and exertion. He sometimes also underwent fatigue for the mere pleasure of the exercise, as when he rode from Ajmír to Agra (220 miles) in two successive days, and in many similar journeys on horseback, besides walks on foot of thirty or forty miles in a day. His history is filled with instances of romantic courage, and he seems to have been stimulated by a sort of instinctive love of danger as often as by any rational motive. Yet he showed no fondness for war: he was always ready to take the field and to remain there, exerting all his talents and energy, while his presence was required; but when the fate of a war was once decided, he returned to the general government of his empire, and left it to his lieutenants to carry on the remaining military operations. These were, in some cases, very long protracted; but his conquests, when concluded,

were complete; and no part of India, except that near the capital, can be said to have been thoroughly subdued until his time. He was not free from ambition; but as the countries he invaded had been formerly subject to Delhi, he would have incurred more blame than praise among his contemporaries if he had forborne from attempting to recover them.

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INTERNAL POLICY.

BOOK IX.

His internal policy, religious and civil.

His general toleration and impartiality.

But it is to his internal policy that Akber owes his place in that highest order of princes, whose reigns have been a blessing to mankind; and that policy shows itself in different shapes, as it affects religion or civil government. Akber's tolerant spirit was displayed early in his reign, and appears to have been entirely independent of any doubts on the divine origin of the Mahometan faith. It led him, however, to listen, without prejudice, to the doctrines of other religions, and involved him in enmity with the bigoted members of his own; and must thus have contributed to shake his early belief, and to dispose him to question the infallible authority of the Korán. The political advantages of a new religion, which should take in all classes of his subjects, could not fail, moreover, to occur to him.

Progress of his religious opinions.

In the first part of his reign, he was assiduous in visiting sacred places, and in attendance on holy men: even in the twenty-first year of his reign, he spoke seriously of performing the pilgrimage to Mecca; and it was not till the twenty-fourth year (A. D. 1579), that he made open profession of his latitudinarian opinions.

It is not impossible that some even of the holy persons whom he visited may have held the free

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notions common with particular sects of Mahometan ascetics; but the blame of corrupting Akber's orthodoxy is thrown by all Mussulman writers on Feizi and his brother Abul Fazl. These eminent persons were the sons of a learned man named Mobárik, who was probably a native of Nágór, and who, at one time, taught a college or school of law and divinity at Agra. He was at first a Sunni, but turned Shía; and afterwards took to reading the philosophical works of the ancients, and became a freethinker, or, according to his enemies, an atheist. So great a persecution was raised against him on this account, that he was constrained to give up his school, and fly with his family from Agra. His sons conformed, in all respects, to the Mahometan religion; though it is probable that they never were deeply imbued with attachment to the sect.

Feizi.

Feizi was the first Mussulman that applied himself to a diligent study of Hindú literature and science. It does not appear whether his attention was directed to these researches by Akber, or whether he undertook them of his own accord. It was, however, by the aid and under the direction of the emperor that he conducted a systematic inquiry into every branch of the knowledge of the Bramins. Besides Shanscrit works in poetry* and

His translations from the Shanscrit.

* He translated the "Nala and Damyanta," an episode of the "Mahá Bhárat." (See Vol. I. p. 293.) Feizi was likewise author of a great deal of original poetry, and of other works, in Persian. He seems to have been more studious and less a man of the world than Abul Fazl.

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philosophy, he made a version of the "Bíja Ganita" and "Lílawatí" of Bháscara Achárya, the best Hindú books on algebra and arithmetic.

He superintends translations from that and other languages.

He likewise superintended translations made from the Shanscrit by other learned men, including one, at least, of the Védas, the two great historical and heroic poems the "Mahá Bhárat" and "Rámáyana," and the "History of Cashmír," the only specimen of that sort of composition in Shanscrit prose.*

Akber's acquisitions of this nature were not confined to Shanscrit. He prevailed on a Christian priest, whom Abul Fazl calls Padre Farábatún, and describes as learned in science and history, to come from Goa, and undertake the education of a few youths destined to be employed in translating the productions of Greek literature into Persian. Feizi himself was directed to make a correct version of the Evangelists.†

Abul Fazl.

Feizi was first presented to Akber in the twelfth

* Muntukhab ul Tawárikh.

† The taste for literature and accomplishments seems to have been much diffused in Akber's court: Azíz (or Kháni A'zim) was a man of great learning; Mírza Khán (Khán Khánán), son of Behrám Khán, and the second of Akber's generals, made the excellent Persian translation now extant of Báber's "Memoirs," from the Turkish. Among the distinguished men of this time, all historians mention Tánsén, a celebrated composer, whose music is still much admired. Even Zein Khán (so often mentioned as an able and active general) is said to have played well on several instruments. Akber encouraged schools, at which Hindú as well as Mahometan learning was taught, and "every one was educated according to his circumstances and particular views in life." (*Akbernámeh.*)

year of his reign, and introduced Abul Fazl six years later, in A. D. 1574.

Akber's attachment to those brothers.

Those brothers soon became the intimate friends and inseparable companions of their sovereign. They not only were the confidants of all his new opinions in religion, and his advisers in his patronage of literature, both in foreign countries and in his own, but were consulted and employed in the most important affairs of government. Feizi was sent on a special embassy to the kings of the Deckan previous to the invasion of that country; and Abul Fazl lived to attain the highest military rank, and to hold the office of prime minister. Akber's distress at the loss of Abul Fazl has been mentioned, and the account of his behaviour at the death of Feizi is the more to be relied on as it is given by an enemy. It was midnight when the news was brought to him that Feizi was dying; on which he hastened to his apartment, but found him already nearly insensible: he raised his head, and called out to him, with a familiar term of endearment, "Shékhjí! I have brought Ali the physician to you; why do not you speak?" Finding that he received no answer, he threw his turban on the ground and burst into the strongest expressions of sorrow. When he had recovered his composure, he went to Abul Fazl, who had withdrawn from the scene of death, and remained for some time endeavouring to console him, before he returned to his palace.*

* Muntakhab ul Tawárikh. The same author, whose name

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Akber's religious and philosophical conferences.

Along with Feizi and Abul Fazl, there were many other learned men of all religions about the court; and it was the delight of Akber to assemble them, and sit for whole nights assisting at their philosophical discussions. His regular meetings were on Friday; but he often sent for single Bramins or Mahometan Súfis on other occasions, and entered into long inquiries regarding the tenets of their different schools.*

Some specimens of the discussions at those meetings (probably imaginary ones) are given in the "Dabistán," a learned Persian work on the various religions of Asia.

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was Abdul Kádir, relates that Feizi continued to blaspheme in his dying moments, and that at last he barked like a dog, while his face became disfigured and his lips black, as if he already bore the impress of the damnation that awaited him. Abdul Kádir inserts in his book a letter in his favour from Feizi to Akber, and defends himself from the charge of ingratitude in defaming his benefactor after his death, by saying that it was a paramount duty he owed to God and to religion. The letter shows Feizi's zeal for his friends in a strong point of view. It expatiates on the services of the bearer, and his ill luck in their not having attracted notice; speaks of him in the warmest terms as an intimate acquaintance of thirty-seven years' standing, a true and faithful friend, and a person of many virtues and accomplishments; and ends by strongly recommending him to the emperor. Though Abdul Kádir had quarrelled with Feizi and Abul Fazl on points of religion, this dispute does not seem to have led to his disgrace with Akber; for he mentions that he was employed by that monarch to make a catalogue of Feizi's library after his death, and that it consisted of 4060 books, carefully corrected and well bound, on poetry and literature, moral and physical science, and theology.

* Akbernámeh. Muntakhab ul Tawárikh.

The fullest is a dialogue between a Bramin, a Mussulman, a worshipper of fire, a Jew, a Christian, and a philosopher.* The representative of each religion brings forth his arguments; which are successively condemned, some on account of the vicious character of their founders, and all for the absurdity of their doctrines, and the want of proof of their alleged miracles. The philosopher winds up the discourse by recommending a system which shall have no ground but reason and virtue. An account of a real debate of this kind is given in the "Akbernámeh." It was carried on before an assembly of the learned of all religions, between Padre *Redíf*, a Christian priest, and a body of Mahometan mullahs: a decided advantage, both in temper and argument, is given to the Christian. It was concluded by Akber's reproving the mullahs for their violence, and expressing his own opinion, that God could only be adequately worshipped by following reason, and not yielding implicit faith to any alleged revelation.†

* Translated by Colonel Kennedy, *Transactions of the Bombay Literary Society*, vol. ii. p. 247, &c.

† A circumstance is related regarding this meeting of which the Christians and Mahometans give different accounts; and, what is rather unusual in controversies, each tells the story in the way least favourable to his own faith. The disputants having split on the divinity of their respective scriptures, the Christian, according to Abul Fazl, offered to walk into a flaming furnace, bearing the Bible, if the Mahometan would show a similar confidence in the protection of the Korán. To this, he says, the Mussulmans only answered by reproaches. The missionaries, on the other hand, say the proposal came from the

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Religious system of Akber.

The religion of Akber himself may be inferred from what has been said. It seems to have been pure deism; in addition to which some ceremonies were permitted in consideration of human infirmity. It maintained that we ought to reverence God according to the knowledge of him derived from our own reason, by which his unity and benevolence are sufficiently established; that we ought to serve him, and to seek for our future happiness by subduing our bad passions, and practising such virtues as are beneficial to mankind; but that we should not adopt a creed, or practise a ritual, on the authority of *any* MAN, as all were liable to vice and error like ourselves. If it were absolutely necessary for men to have some visible object of adoration, by means of which they might raise their soul to the Divinity, Akber recommended that the sun, the

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Mussulmans, and was rejected by them, contrary to the wish of Akber. (*Murray's Asiatic Discoveries*, vol. ii. p. 91.) The probability is, that Akber may have taken this way of amusing himself with the extravagance of both parties. It does not appear that he had any design to turn the Christians at least into derision. The missionaries, provoked at the disappointment of their sanguine hopes of converting the emperor, appear at length to have suspected that he had no object in encouraging them, except to gratify his t[illegible]e with their pictures and images, and to swell the pomp of his court by their attendance (Ibid. vol. ii. p. 91.); but, besides his intense curiosity about the religious opinions of all sects, both Abul Fazl and Abdul Kádir represent him as entertaining a real respect for Christianity. The latter author says that he made his son Morád be instructed in the Gospel, and that those lessons were not begun according to the usual form, "In the name of God," but, "In the name of Jesus Christ."

planets, or fire, should be the symbols. He had no priests, no public worship, and no restrictions about food, except a recommendation of abstinence, as tending to exalt the mind. His only observances were salutations to the sun, prayers at midnight and day-break, and meditations at noon on the sun. He professed to sanction this sort of devotion, from regard to the prejudices of the people, and not from his own belief in their efficacy. It is, indeed, related by Abul Fazl, that, being once entreated to pray for rain, he refused, observing that God knew our wants and wishes better than we did ourselves, and did not require to be reminded, to exert his power for our benefit. But as Akber *practised* all his ceremonies, as well as permitted them, it may be doubted whether they had not gained some hold on his imagination. He seems to have been by nature devout, and, with all his scepticism, to have inclined even to superstitions that promised him a closer connection with the Deity than was afforded by the religion which his reason approved. To this feeling we may ascribe, among other instances, the awe and veneration with which he adored the images of Jesus Christ and the Virgin, when they were shown to him by the missionaries.*

Notwithstanding the adulation of his courtiers, and some expressions in the formulæ of his own religion, Akber never seems to have entertained the least intention of laying claims to supernatural

* Murray, vol. ii. p. 89.

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illumination. His fundamental doctrine was, that there were no prophets; his appeal on all occasions was to human reason; and his right to interfere at all with religion was grounded on his duty as civil magistrate.* He took the precaution, on promulgating his innovations, to obtain the legal opinions of the principal Mahometan lawyers, that the king was the head of the church, and had a right to govern according to his own judgment†, and to decide all disputes among its members; and, in his new confession of faith, it was declared that "There was no God but God, and that Akber was *his calif.*"

A. D. 1579, A. H. 987, in Rejib.

In the propagation of his opinions, Akber confined himself to persuasion, and made little progress except among the people about his court and a few learned men; but his measures were much stronger in abrogating the obligations of the Mussulman religion, which, till now, had been enforced by law. Prayers, fasts, alms, pilgrimages, and public worship were left optional: the prohibition of unclean animals, that of the moderate use of wine, and that of gaming with dice, were taken off; and circumcision was not permitted until the age of twelve, when the person to undergo it could judge of the propriety of the rite.‡

* Some of his practices, as breathing on his disciples, &c., which have been mentioned as implying pretensions to miraculous powers, are the common forms used by spiritual instructors throughout India.

† Muntakhab ul Tawárikh.

‡ Colonel Kennedy adds that the marriage of more than one wife was forbidden.

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Some of the other measures adopted seemed to go beyond indifference, and to show a wish to discountenance the Mahometan religion. The æra of the Hijra and the Arabian months were changed for a solar year, dating from the vernal equinox nearest the king's accession, and divided into months named after those of ancient Persia. The study of the Arabic language was discouraged: Arabian names (as Mohammed, Ali, &c.) were disused. The ordinary salutation of Salám alékum! (Peace be unto you!) was changed into Alláho Akber! (God is most great!); to which the answer was, Jillí Jelálihú! (May his brightness shine forth!).* Even wearing the beard, a practice enjoined by the Korán, was so offensive to Akber, that he would scarcely admit a person to his presence who conformed to it. This last prohibition gave peculiar disgust to the Mahometans, as did a regulation introducing on certain occasions the Persian custom of prostration (or kissing the ground, as it was called) before the king; a mark of respect regarded by the Mahometans as exclusively appropriated to the Deity.

His discouragement of the Mahometan peculiarities.

As the Hindús had not been supported by the government, Akber had less occasion to interfere with them; and, indeed, from the tolerant and inoffensive character of their religion, he seems to have had little inclination. He however forbade trials by ordeal, and marriages before the age of

His restrictions on the Hindú superstition.

* These phrases include the emperor's name, Jelál u dín Akber.

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puberty, and the slaughter of animals for sacrifice. He also permitted widows to marry a second time, contrary to the Hindú law *: above all, he positively prohibited the burning of Hindú widows against their will, and took effectual precautions to ascertain that their resolution was free and uninfluenced. On one occasion, hearing that the rája of Jódpúr was about to force his son's widow to the pile, he mounted his horse and rode post to the spot to prevent the intended sacrifice.†

His general indulgence to Hindús.

His most important measures connected with the Hindús were of a purely favourable nature, but had been adopted many years before his innovations in religion. His employment of them equally with Mahometans began with his assumption of the government. In the seventh year of his reign he abolished the jezía or capitation tax on infidels; an odious impost which served to keep up animosity between people of the predominant faith and those under them. About the same time he abolished all taxes on pilgrims; observing that, "although the tax fell on a vain superstition, yet, as all modes of worship were designed for one great Being, it was wrong to throw an obstacle in the way of the devout, and to cut them off from their mode of intercourse with their Maker."‡

Another humane edict, issued still earlier (A. D. 1561), though not limited to any one class, was, in practice, mainly beneficial to the Hindús: it was

* Colonel Kennedy, *Bombay Transactions*, vol. ii. p. 261.

† Akbernámeh.

‡ Chalmers's MS. translation of the "Akbernámeh."

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a prohibition against making slaves of persons taken in war. It appears that in the previous disturbances this abuse had been carried to such a height, that not only was it practised towards the wives and children of garrisons who stood a storm, but even peaceable inhabitants of a hostile country were seized and sold for slaves. All this was positively prohibited.

Discontents among the Mussulmans.

Although Akber's religious innovations were not all introduced at once, and although some of those found to be particularly obnoxious to censure were cancelled or confined to the palace, yet they did not fail to excite great discontent among the stricter Mussulmans, and especially among the mullahs, whose disgust was increased by some changes affecting lands granted for religious purposes, which took place in the course of the general revenue reform. The complaints of these classes are zealously set forth by an author already often referred to*, who accuses Akber of systematic depression of the Mussulman religion, and even of persecution of such persons as distinguished themselves by adhering to it. It is not improbable that he showed some prejudice against those who were active in opposing him; and he certainly restricted his patronage to the more compliant; but in all the instances of harsh language and conduct to individuals, brought forward by this writer, Akber seems to have been justified by par-

* Abdul Kádir, the writer of the "Muntakhab ul Tawáríkh."

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ticular acts of disrespect or factious conduct. The cases in question are not confined to Mullahs. One of his principal courtiers was ordered out of the royal apartment for attacking his proceedings, and asking what he imagined orthodox princes of other countries would say of them? and another, who applied the epithet "hellish" to the king's advisers, was told that such language deserved to be answered by a blow. The most considerable of these malcontents was Azíz (the Khán i A'zim), who was Akber's foster-brother, and one of his best generals. This nobleman having been long absent in the government of Guzerát, his mother prevailed on Akber to invite him to come to court. Azíz excused himself; and it appeared that his real objection was to shaving his beard and performing the prostration. Akber, on this, wrote him a good-humoured remonstrance; but, Azíz persevering, he sent him a positive order to come to the capital. Azíz, on this, threw up his government; and after writing an insolent and reproachful letter to Akber, in which he asked him if he had received a book* from heaven, or if he could work miracles like Mahomet, that he presumed to introduce a new religion, warned him that he was on the way to eternal perdition, and concluded with a prayer to God to bring him back into the path of salvation. After this explosion of zeal he embarked for Mecca

* The Korán, the Old and New Testament, and the Psalms of David, are called *books* by way of excellence, and their followers, "People of the Book."

without leave or notice. In a short time, however, he found his situation irksome in that country, and returned to India, where he made his submission, and was restored at once to his former place in the emperor's favour and confidence.

Limited progress of his own religion.

But although this sort of opposition was surmounted, Akber's religion was too spiritual and abstracted to be successful with the bulk of mankind. It seems never to have gone beyond a few philosophers and some interested priests and courtiers; and, on Akber's death, it expired of itself, and the Mussulman forms were quietly and almost silently restored by Jehángír. The solar year was retained for some time longer, on account of its intrinsic advantages. A liberal spirit of inquiry, however, survived the system to which it owed its rise; and if extrinsic causes had not interrupted its progress, it might have ripened into some great reform of the existing superstitions.

Akber cannot claim the merit of originality for his doctrines. The learned Hindús had always maintained the real unity of God, and had respected, without believing, the mythological part of their creed. The Cabír Pantis, a Hindú sect which sprung up nearly a century before Akber, had come still nearer to his views; and from them he appears to have borrowed some of the arbitrary parts of his religious rules: still he excelled all his predecessors in his conception of the Divine na-
e; and the general freedom which he allowed to
vate judgment was a much more generous effort

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in a powerful monarch than in a recluse reformer, himself likely to be an object of persecution.*

His civil government — Revenue system.

Akber's revenue system, though so celebrated for the benefits it conferred on India, presented no new invention. It only carried the previous system into effect with greater precision and correctness: it was, in fact, only a continuation of a plan commenced by Shír Sháh, whose short reign did not admit of his extending it to all parts of his kingdom.

The objects of it were — 1. To obtain a correct measurement of the land. 2. To ascertain the amount of the produce of each bígah† of land, and to fix the proportion of that amount that each ought to pay to the government. 3. To settle an equivalent for the proportion so fixed, in money.

1. For the first purpose Akber established an uniform standard to supersede the various measures formerly employed even by public officers. He also improved the instruments of mensuration, and he then deputed persons to make a complete measurement of all the lands capable of cultivation within the empire.

* In comparing Akber's attempt to found a system of pure deism with similar experiments by modern governments, we must remember the incurable defects of all the religions with which he was acquainted, and must distinguish between the merit of a man who takes the lead of his generation, and that of another who follows the crowd even in its errors and extravagances.

† An Indian land measure, considerably more than half acre.

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2. The assessment was not so simple as the measurement. The land was divided into three classes, according to its fertility; the amount of each sort of produce that a bígah of each class would yield was ascertained: the average of the three was assumed as the produce of a bígah, and one-third of that produce formed the government demand.* But this assessment seems to have been only designed to fix a maximum, for every cultivator who thought the amount claimed too high might insist on an actual measurement and division of the crop.

As lands of equal fertility might be differently circumstanced in other respects, the following classification was formed for modifying that first mentioned: 1. Land which never required a fallow paid

* Thus, assuming the produce of a bígah of wheat, in mans (a measure of something less than forty pounds), —

	mans.	sérs.
Class 1. would yield - -	18	
Class 2. - - - -	12	
Class 3. - - - -	8	35
A[illegible]	38	35

which, divided by [illegible] — 12 maunds 38½ sérs; and that again divided by [illegible] king's demand on each bígah — 4 mans [illegible]

If the produce of a bígah of [illegible] be assumed, —

	mans.	sérs.
Class 1. will yield - - -	10	
Class 2. - - - -	7	20
Class 3. - - - -	5	
Aggregate - - - -	22	20
Average of the three classes -	7	20
King's demand (one third of the average) - -	2	20

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the full demand every harvest. 2. Land which required fallows only paid when under cultivation. 3. Land which had suffered from inundation, &c., or which had been three years out of cultivation and required some expense to reclaim it, paid only two fifths for the first year, but went on increasing till the fifth year, when it paid the full demand. 4. Land which had been more than five years out of cultivation enjoyed still more favourable terms for the first four years.

It is not explained in the "A'yeni Akberi" how the comparative fertility of fields was ascertained. It is probable that the three classes were formed for each village, in consultation with the inhabitants, and the process would be greatly facilitated by another classification made by the villagers for their own use, which seems to have subsisted from time immemorial. By that distribution, all the land of every village is divided into a great many classes, according to its qualities; as black mould, red mould, gravelly, sandy, black mould mixed with stones, &c. Other circumstances are also considered, such as [illegible] vicinity to the village, &c.; and [illegible] taken so to apportion the differen[illegible]tions among the cultivators as to give equal advantages to all.

3. The quantity of produce due to the government being settled, it was next to be commuted for a money payment. For this purpose, statements of prices current for the nineteen years preceding the survey were called for from every town and village;

and the produce was turned into money according to the average of the rates shown in those statements. The commutation was occasionally reconsidered, with reference to the actual market prices; and every husbandman was allowed to pay in kind if he thought the money rate was fixed too high.

All these settlements were at first made annually; but their continual recurrence being found to be vexatious, the settlement was afterwards made for ten years, on an average of the payments of the preceding ten.

The prolongation of the term mitigated another evil inherent in the system; for, as the assessment varied with the sort of cultivation, it had all the effect of a tithe in indisposing the husbandman to cultivate a richer description of produce, which, though it might yield a greater profit, would have a higher tax to pay at the next settlement.

The above measurements and classifications were all carefully recorded; the distribution of land, and increase or diminution of revenue, were all yearly entered into the village registers agreeably to them; and they still continue in use, even in parts of India which had not been conquered in Akber's time, and where their own merits have since introduced them.

At the same time when Akber made these improvements respecting the land tax, he abolished a vast number of vexatious taxes and fees to officers.

He also made a new revenue division of the country into portions, each yielding a crór (*i. e.* 10,000,000) of dáms, equal to 250,000 rupees, or

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25,000*l.*; the collector of each of which was called the crórí. This arrangement did not last, and the ancient Hindú division is again universally established.

The result of these measures was, to reduce the amount of the public demand considerably, but to diminish the defalcation in realising it; so that the profit to the state remained nearly the same, while the pressure on individuals was much lessened. Abul Fazl even asserts that the assessment was lighter than that of Shír Sháh, although *he* professed to take only one fourth of the produce, while Akber took one third.

Akber's instructions to his revenue officers have come down to us, and show his anxiety for the liberal administration of his system, and for the ease and comfort of his subjects. Some particulars of his mode of management also appear in those instructions. There is no farming of any branch of the revenue, and the collectors are enjoined, in their agreements and collections, to deal directly with individual cultivators, and not to depend implicitly on the headman and accountant of the village.*

On the whole, this great reform, much as it promoted the happiness of the existing generation, contained no principle of progressive improvement, and held out no hopes to the rural population by opening paths by which it might spread into other occupations, or rise by individual exertions within its own. No mode of administration, in-

* Gladwin's A´yeni Akberi, vol. i. pp. 303—312.

deed, could effect these objects as long as the subdivision of land by inheritance checked all extensive improvement in husbandry, at the same time that it attached to the soil those members of each family who might have betaken themselves to commerce, or other pursuits, such as would have increased the value of raw produce, and raised the price of agricultural labour, by diminishing the competition for that species of employment.

Tódar Mal.

The author of the reform was Rája Tódar Mal, by whose name it is still called everywhere. The military services of this minister have already been mentioned. Abul Fazl describes him as entirely devoid of avarice, and quite sincere, but of a malicious and vindictive temper, and so observant of the fasts and other superstitions of the Hindú religion, as to draw down on him reproof even from Akber.*

Though we have not a particular explanation of Akber's system in other departments, as we have in that of revenue, a general notion of it may be made out from his instructions to his officers.†

Subahs, or governments, and

The empire was divided into fifteen subahs or provinces.‡ The chief officer in each was the viceroy

* Chalmers's MS. translation of the "Akbermámeh."

† Gladwin's Ayeni Akberi, vol. i. pp. 29—303.

‡ Twelve of these were in Hindostan and three in the Deckan: these last were increased, after the conquest of Bíjapúr and Golcónda, to six. The title of sipáh sálár was changed after Akber's time to subahdár, and an additional officer was introduced under the title of díwán, for the purpose of superintending the finances of the province. He was subordinate to the subahdár, but was appointed by the king.

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their establishments, — military, judicial, and police.

(sipáh sálar), who had the complete control, civil and military, subject to the instructions of the king.

Under him were the revenue functionaries above mentioned, and also the military commanders of districts (foujdárs), whose authority extended over the local soldiery or militia, and over all military establishments and lands assigned to military purposes, as well as over the regular troops within their jurisdiction; and whose duty it was to suppress all disorders that required force within the same limits.

Justice was administered by a court composed of an officer named mír adel (lord justice), and a cázi. The latter conducted the trial and stated the law; the other passed judgment, and seems to have been the superior authority; the distinction probably arising from the modifications introduced by the will of the prince and the customs of the country into the strict Mahometan law, of which the cázi was the organ.

The police of considerable towns was under an officer called the cótwál; in smaller places it was under the revenue officer; and in villages, of course, under the internal authorities.

The tone of instructions to all these functionaries is just and benevolent, though by no means exempt from the vagueness and puerility that is natural to Asiatic writings of this sort.

Those to the cótwál keep up the prying and meddling character of the police under a despotism: they prohibit forestalling and regrating, &c.; and

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in the midst of some very sensible directions, there is an order that any one who drinks out of the cup of the common executioner shall lose his hand; a law worthy of Menu, and the more surprising as the spirit of all the rules for administering justice is liberal and humane. A letter of instructions to the governor of Guzerát, preserved in a separate history of that province, restricts his punishments to putting in irons, whipping, and death; enjoining him to be sparing in capital punishments, and, unless in cases of dangerous sedition, to inflict none until he has sent the proceedings to court and received the emperor's confirmation. Capital punishment is not to be attended with any additional severity.*

Reform and new model of the army.

Amidst the reforms of other departments, Akber did not forget his army. If it had cost a long and dangerous struggle to bring that body to submit to orders, it scarcely required a less exertion, at a later period, to introduce economy and efficiency into the management of it.

It had been usual to grant lands and assignments on the revenue, and leave the holder to realise them without check; while musters were irregular and deceptive, being often made up by servants and camp followers mounted for the day on borrowed horses.

Akber put a stop to the first of these abuses, by paying the troops in cash from the treasury when-

* Bird's History of Guzerát, p. 391.

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ever it was practicable; and establishing checks on jagírs, where such existed. The other was cured by rendering musters necessary before pay, by describing every man's features and person on the roll, and branding every horse with the king's mark that ever had been numbered in his service. Camels, oxen, carts, and all things necessary for the movement of troops, were also mustered and paid at fixed rates.

But even in its highest state of perfection the army was not very well organised. It was not divided into bodies, each of a certain number, and with a fixed proportion of officers: the system was, for the king to name officers as he thought necessary, who were called mansabdárs, and who were divided into classes of commanders of 10,000, commanders of 5000, &c., down to commanders of 10. These numbers, in all but the lowest classes, were merely nominal, and were adopted to fix the rank and pay of the holders. Each entertained whatever number he was specially authorised to keep (sometimes not a tenth of his nominal command), and that number was mustered, and paid from the treasury. Their united quotas made up the army; and when a force went on service, the king appointed the commander and some of the chief officers, below whom there was, probably, no chain of subordination, except what aro[illegible] each man's authority over his own quota. [illegible] but the king's sons held a rank above the co[illegible] of 5000; and of the latter class there we[illegible]

thirty persons, including princes of the blood and Rájpút rájas. The whole number, down to commanders of 200, was not 450.*

Each mansabdár was required to keep half as many infantry as horsemen; and of the infantry, a fourth were required to be matchlockmen; the rest might be archers.

Besides these troops under mansabdárs, there was a considerable body of the best description of horsemen, who took service individually, and were called ahdis (*i. e.* single men, or individuals). Their pay depended on their merits; it was always much higher than that of a common horseman. These last, if from beyond the Indus, received 25 rupees a month; and if Indian, 20. The matchlockmen received 6 rupees at most, and the archers as low as 2½.

The mansabdárs were very liberally paid†, but no part of their emoluments or commands were hereditary. On a chief's death, the king confers some rank — generally a moderate one at

* These numbers are from the list in the "Ayeni Akberi;" it is uncertain to which period of the reign it refers. The extremely small number of officers is explained by the absence of discipline and of instruction in tactics, as well as by the character of the horsemen, who were a sort of gentlemen, and more intelligent than ordinary troopers in a regular army.

† The sums in the tables in the "Ayeni Akberi" cannot relate to personal allowances alone; but see Bernier, vol. i. p. 289. He mentions that his patron, Dánishmand Khán, had the rank of 5000, with the real command of 500 horse, and had near 5000 *crowns* of pay per mensem.

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first — on his son, and added a pension if the father's merits entitled him to it.

We have no means of guessing the number of the troops. In later times, Aurangzíb was conjectured to have had 200,000 effective cavalry, besides artillery and undisciplined infantry.* It is not likely that Akber had as many. Abul Fazl says the local militia of the provinces amounted to 4,400,000; but this is probably an exaggerated account of those bound by their tenure to give a limited service in certain cases: probably few could be called on for more than a day or two to beat the woods for a hunting party; and many, no doubt, belonged to hill rájas and tribes who never served at all.

Fortifications and public works.

Besides the fort of Attok, already mentioned, many military works were erected by Akber. The walls and citadels of Agra and Allahábád much surpass the rest: they are lofty curtains and towers of cut stone, with deep ditches, and ornamented, in the Indian way, with turrets, domes, and [illegible] 'lements; each of the gateways being a stately edifice that would make a suitable entrance to a royal palace. He also built and fortified the town of Fattehpúr Síkrí, which was his principal residence, and which, though now deserted, is one of the most splendid specimens that remain of the former grandeur of India.†

* Bernier.

† Bishop Heber describes its commanding situation on a hill, the noble flight of steps which ascends to the portal tower, the extent and rich carving of the palace; above all, the mosque,

The same methodical system was carried through all branches of Akber's service. The "A'yeni Akberi" (Regulations of Akber) by A'bul Fazl, from which the above account of the civil and military arrangements is mostly taken, contains a minute description of the establishment and regulations of every department, from the Mint and the Treasury down to the fruit, perfumery, and flower offices, the kitchen, and the kennel. The whole presents an astonishing picture of magnificence and good order; where unwieldy numbers are managed without disturbance, and economy is attended to in the midst of profusion.

The extent of these establishments appears from the work just mentioned and the contemporary historians *; but the *effect* can be best judged of

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with the majestic proportions and beautiful architecture of the quadrangle and cloisters, of which it forms one side. (Vol. i. p. 596.) The same judicious observer gives an account of the buildings within Agra. The principal are, "a beautiful mosque of white marble, carved with exquisite simplicity and elegance;" and the palace, built mostly of the same material, and containing some noble rooms. The great hall is "a splendid edifice, supported by pillars and arches of white marble, more nobly simple than that of Delhi. The ornaments, carving, and mosaic of the smaller apartments are equal or superior to any thing which is described as found in the Alhambra." (Vol. i. p. 587.) Among Akber's principal works must be mentioned the tomb of Humáyun at Delhi, a great and solid edifice erected on a terrace raised above the surrounding country, and surmounted by a vast dome of white marble.

* Akber had never less than 5000 elephants and 12,000 stable horse, besides vast hunting and hawking establishments, &c. &c. (*Ferishta*, vol. ii. p. 281.)

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by the descriptions of the Europeans who saw them in Akber's own time, or under the reign of his immediate successor, Jehángír.

His camp equipage consisted of tents and portable houses, in an inclosure formed by a high wall of canvas skreens, and containing great halls for public receptions, apartments for feasting, galleries for exercise, and chambers for retirement; all framed of the most costly materials, and adapted to the most luxurious enjoyment.

The inclosure was 1530 yards square. The tents and wall were of various colours and patterns within, but all red on the outside, and crowned with gilded globes and pinnacles, forming a sort of castle in the midst of the camp. The camp itself showed like a beautiful city of tents of many colours, disposed in streets without the least disorder, covering a space of about five miles across, and affording a glorious spectacle when seen at once from a height.*

The greatest displays of his grandeur were at the annual feasts of the vernal equinox, and the king's birthday. They lasted for several days, during which there was a general fair and many processions and other pompous shows. The king's usual place was in a rich tent, in the midst of awnings to keep off the sun. At least two acres were thus spread with silk and gold carpets and hangings, as rich as velvet, embroidered with gold, pearl,

* Sir Thomas Roe, in "Churchill's Voyages." Terry's Voyage, p. 398.

and precious stones, could make them.* The nobility had similar pavilions, where they received visits from each other, and sometimes from the king; dresses, jewels, horses, and elephants were bestowed on the nobility; the king was weighed in golden scales against silver, gold, perfumes, and other substances, in succession, which were distributed among the spectators. Almonds and other fruits, of gold and silver, were scattered by the king's own hand, and eagerly caught up by the courtiers, though of little intrinsic value. On the great day of each festival, the king was seated on his throne, in a marble palace, surrounded by nobles wearing high heron plumes and "sparkling with diamonds like the firmament."† Many hundred elephants passed before him in companies, all most richly adorned, and the leading elephant of each company with gold plates on its head and breast, set with rubies and emeralds.‡

Trains of caparisoned horses followed; and after them, rhinoceroses, lions, tigers and panthers, hunting leopards, hounds, and hawks§; the whole concluding with an innumerable host of cavalry glittering with cloth of gold.

In the midst of all this splendour, Akber appeared with as much simplicity as dignity. He is thus described by two European eye-witnesses,

* Hawkins, in "Purchas's Pilgrims," vol. i.

† Sir T. Roe says, "I own I never saw such inestimable wealth."

‡ Sir T. Roe. § Bernier, vol. i. p. 42.

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with some parts of whose account I shall close his history.* After remarking that he had less show or state than other Asiatic princes, and that he stood or sat *below the throne* to administer justice, they say, that "he is affable and majestical, merciful and severe;" that he is skilful in mechanical arts, as "making guns, casting ordnance, &c.; of sparing diet, sleeps but three hours a day, curiously industrious, affable to the vulgar, seeming to grace them and their presents with more respective ceremonies than the grandees; loved and feared of his own, terrible to his enemies."†

* Purchas, vol. v. p. 516.

† The principal authorities for this account of Akber's reign are, Ferishta, the "Akbernámeh" by Abul Fazl, the "Muntakhab ul Tawárikh," Kháfi Khán, and the "Kholásat ul Tawárikh." Abul Fazl, in this reign, shows all his usual merits, and more than his usual defects. (See p. 122.) Every event that had a tendency to take from the goodness, wisdom, or power of Akber, is passed over or misstated; and a uniform strain of panegyric and triumph is kept up, which disgusts the reader with the author, and almost with the hero. Amidst these unmeaning flourishes, the real merits of Akber disappear, and it is from other authors that we learn the motives of his actions, the difficulties he had to contend with, and the resources by which they were surmounted. The gross flattery of a book written by one so well acquainted with Akber's disposition, and submitted, it appears, to his own inspection, leaves an impression of the vanity of that prince, which is almost the only blot on his otherwise admirable character. The "Akbernámeh" was brought down by Abul Fazl nearly to the time of his own death, in the forty-seventh year of the reign, and was continued for the remaining period of upwards of three years by a person named Enáyet Ullah, or Mohammed Sália. I could never have availed myself of this work without the aid of a manuscript translation of Lieutenant Chalmers of the Madras army, in the

possession of the Royal Asiatic Society. The "Muntakhab ul Tawárikh" was finished in the end of the fortieth year of the reign. It is written by Abdul Kádir of Badáyun, and is a history of the Mahometan kings of India. The facts are chiefly taken from the "Tabakáti Akberi," down to the thirty-seventh year of Akber's reign, when that book ends. The whole of that reign, however, has many additions from the author's own knowledge, and takes its colour from his prejudices. Abdul Kádir was a learned man employed by Akber to make translations from Shanscrit; but, being a bigoted Mussulman, he quarrelled with Abul Fazl and Feizi, and has filled his book with invectives against their irreligion and that of Akber (see page 319., *note*). He has also recorded many other grievances complained of at that time, and has disclosed those parts of the picture which were thrown into the shade by Abul Fazl. The impression of Akber left by this almost hostile narrative is much more favourable than that made by his panegyrist. Kháfi Khán and the author of the "Kholásat ul Tawárikh" are later compilers. The "Tabakáti Akberi," written by Nizám u dín Hervi, is a history of the Mahometan kings down to the thirty-seventh of Akber, and is said to be a work of great merit; but, although I have access to a copy, I am unable to avail myself of it, for want of the assistance I require to make out the character. Besides the original of Kháfi Khán, I am indebted to the kindness of Major A. Gordon of the Bengal cavalry, for the use of a manuscript translation made by him of the work of that historian down to near the end of Jehángír's reign. It is much to be regretted that this excellent translation has not been carried on to the end of the history, which comes down to recent times, and affords the only full and connected account of the whole period which it embraces.

BOOK X.

JEHÁNGÍR — SHÁH JEHÁN.

CHAP. I.

JEHÁNGÍR.

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SELÍM took possession of the government immediately on his father's death, and assumed the title of Jehángír (Conqueror of the World).

A. D. 1605, October; A. H. 1014, Jemádi ul ákhir.

He found the whole of his dominions on the north of the Nerbadda in a state of as great tranquillity as could be expected in so extensive an empire. The rebellion of Osmán continued in Bengal, but was confined to part of that province. The contest with the rána of Oudipúr was a foreign war, and the success, though not complete, was on the side of the emperor.

State of India at the accession of Jehángír.

Affairs wore a worse aspect in the Tekan, where the Nizám Sháhi government of Ahmednagar seemed to be recovering from the loss of its capital, and more likely to regain some of the territory it had been deprived of than to be completely subverted by the arms of the Moguls.

Jehángír's first measures were of a much more benevolent and judicious character than might

Moderate measures at the com-

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mencement of his reign.

have been expected of him. He confirmed most of his father's old officers in their stations; and issued edicts, remitting some vexatious duties which had survived Akber's reforms, forbidding the bales of merchants to be opened by persons in authority without their free consent, directing that no soldiers or servants of the state should quarter themselves on private houses, abolishing the punishments of cutting off ears and noses, and introducing other salutary regulations. Notwithstanding his own notorious habits, he strictly forbade the use of wine, and regulated that of opium; subjecting all offenders against his rules to severe punishment.

He restored the Mahometan confession of faith on his coin, together with most of the forms of that religion. He, however, kept up some of Akber's rules regarding abstinence from meat on particular days. He observed some of his superstitious devotions; he exacted the ceremony of prostration from all who approached him; and although, in his writings, he affects the devout style usual to all Mussulmans, he never acquired, and probably did not seriously pretend to, the character of a religious man. The general impression is, that, though more superstitious, he was less devout, than Akber, and had little feeling of religion even when abstracted from all peculiar tenets.

Among his earliest measures was one for affording easy access to complaints, on which he valued himself at least as highly as the efficacy of the invention deserved: a chain was hung from a part of

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the wall of the citadel, accessible, without difficulty, to all descriptions of people; it communicated with a clustre of golden bells within the emperor's own apartment, and he was immediately apprised, by the sound, of the appearance of a suitor, and thus rendered independent of any officers inclined to keep back information.

Flight of Prince Khusru.

The hatred which had so long subsisted between the new emperor and his eldest son was not likely to have been diminished by the events which preceded the accession. Khusru had ever since remained in a state of sullenness and dejection; and it is by no means probable that Jehángír's treatment of him was such as would be likely to soothe his feelings. His behaviour does not appear to have given rise to any suspicion, until upwards of four months after the accession; when Jehángír was awaked, at midnight, with the intelligence that his son had fled, with a few attendants, and taken the road to Delhi. He immediately dispatched a light force in pursuit of him, and followed, himself, in the morning, with all the troops he could collect.

A. D. 1606, March; A. H. 1014, Zí Haj 8.

His rebellion.

Khusru was joined, soon after leaving Agra, by a body of 300 horse, whom he met on their march to the capital. He proceeded by Delhi, subsisting his troops by plunder, and, by the time he reached the Panjáb, had collected a body of upwards of 10,000 men. The city of Láhór was betrayed to him, and he was making an ineffectual attempt to reduce the citadel, when he was disturbed by the

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approach of his father's advanced guard. When this was announced to him, he drew his force out of Láhór, and attacked the royal troops; but, although he had the advantage of engaging a detachment, he was unable to offer a successful opposition. He was totally defeated, and, having fled in the direction of Cábul, he was run aground in a boat as he was passing the Hydaspes, and was seized and brought in chains before his father. The whole rebellion did not last above a month.

Quashed.

Khusru's principal advisers, and many of his common followers, fell into the hands of the emperor, and afforded him an opportunity of displaying all the ferocity of his character. He ordered 700 of the prisoners to be impaled in a line leading from the gate of Láhór; and he expatiates, in his Memoirs, on the long duration of their frightful agonies.* To complete his barbarity, he made his son Khusru be carried along the line on an elephant, while a mace-bearer called out to him, with mock solemnity, to receive the salutations of his servants.† The unhappy Khusru passed three days, in tears and groans, without tasting food‡; and remained for long after a prey to the deepest melancholy.

Barbarous punishment of the rebels.

Imprisonment of Khusru.

Prince Parvíz, the emperor's second son, had

* Price's Memoirs of Jehángír, p. 88.

† Kháfi Khán.

‡ Memoirs of Jehángír, p. 89. The general account of the rebellion is from Jehángír's Memoirs, Kháfi Khán, and Gladwin.

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been sent, under the guidance of Asof Khán, against the rána of Oudipúr, very soon after the accession: he was recalled on the flight of Khusru, but in that short interval he had effected an accommodation with the râna, and now joined his father's camp.

A. D. 1606, March; A. H. 1015, Zí Haj.

In the spring of the next year Jehángír went to Cábul; and, when at that city, he showed some favour to Khusru, ordering his chains to be taken off, and allowing him to walk in a garden within the upper citadel. If he had any disposition to carry his forgiveness further, it was checked by a conspiracy, which was detected some time after, to release Khusru and to assassinate the emperor.

A. D. 1607, A. H. 1016. Wars in Méwár and in the Deckan.

On his return to Agra, Jehángír sent an army, under Mohábat Khán, against the rána of Oudipúr, with whom the war had been renewed; and another, under the Khán Khánán, to effect a settlement of the Deckan. Prince Parvíz was afterwards made nominal commander of the latter force: he was too young to exercise any real authority.

Insurrection of a pretended Khusru. A. D. 1607 to 1610, A. H. 1017 to 1019.

The only event of importance in the following years was an insurrection at Patna by a man of the lowest order, who assumed the character of Khusru, and, seizing on the city in consequence of the supineness of the local officers, drew together so many followers, that he engaged the governor of the province in the field, and some time elapsed before he was driven back into Patna, made prisoner, and put to death.

Ill success of the war

In the end of the year 1610, affairs in the

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Deckan assumed a serious aspect. After the taking of Ahmednagar, the conduct of the government of the new king fell into the hands of an Abyssinian named Malik Amber. This minister founded a new capital on the site of the present Aurangábád; and maintained, for a long series of years, the apparently sinking fortunes of the Nizám Sháhi government. His talents were not confined to war: he introduced a new revenue system into the Deckan, perhaps in imitation of Tódar Mal; and it has given his name an universal celebrity in the Deckan equal to that enjoyed in Hindostan by the other great financier.* Malik Amber profited by some dissensions which fell out between the Kháni Khánán and the other generals; and prosecuted his advantages with such success that he repeatedly defeated the Mogul troops, retook Ahmednagar, and compelled the Kháni Khánán himself to retire to Burhánpúr. In these circumstances, Jehángír recalled his general, and conferred the command on Khán Jehán.

in the Deckan.

Malik Amber.

He recovers Ahmednagar.

It was in the sixth year of his reign that Jéhangír ntracted a marriage with the celebrated Núr hán, an event which influenced all the succeedg transactions of his life.

A. D. 1611, A. H. 1020.

Marriage of the emperor with Núr Jehán.

The grandfather of this lady was a native of Teherán, in Persia, and held a high civil office under the government of that country. His son, Mírza Gheiás, was reduced to poverty, and deter-

Her history.

* Grant's History of the Marrattas, vol. i. p. 95.

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mined to seek for a maintenance by emigrating, with his wife, and a family consisting of two sons and a daughter, to India. He was pursued by misfortune even in this attempt; and by the time the caravan with which he travelled reached Candahár, he was reduced to circumstances of great distress. Immediately on his arrival in that city his wife was delivered of Núr Jehán; and into so abject a condition had they fallen, that the parents were unable to provide for the conveyance of their infant, or to maintain the mother so as to admit of her giving it support. The future empress was therefore exposed on the road by which the caravan was next morning to proceed. She was observed by a principal merchant of the party, who felt compassion for her situation, and was struck with her beauty: he took her up, and resolved to educate her as his own.

As a woman in a situation to act as a nurse was not easy to be found in a caravan, it is a matter of no surprise that her own mother should have been the person employed in that capacity; and the merchant's attention being thus drawn to the distresses of the family, he relieved their immediate wants; and perceiving the father and his eldest son to be men much above their present condition, he employed them in matters connected with his business, and became much interested in their fate. By his means they were introduced to Akber; and, being placed in some subordinate employments, they soon rose by their own abilities.

In the mean time Núr Jehán grew up, and began to excite admiration by her beauty and elegance. She often accompanied her mother, who had free access to the harem of Akber, and there attracted the notice of Jehángír, then Prince Selím. His behaviour gave so much uneasiness to her mother, as to induce her to speak of it to the princess whom she was visiting. Through her, the case was laid before Akber, who remonstrated with his son; and, at the same time, recommended that Núr Jehán should be married, and removed from the prince's sight. She was bestowed on Shír Afgan Khán, a young Persian lately come into the service, and to him Akber gave a jágír in Bengal.

But these means were not sufficient to efface the impression made on Jehángír; and, after he had been about a year on the throne, he took the opportunity of his foster-brother Kutb 'u dín's going as viceroy of Bengal to charge him to procure for him the possession of the object of his passion.

It was probably expected that all opposition from the husband would be prevented by influence and promises; but Shír Afgan had a higher sense of honour; and no sooner suspected the designs that were entertained, than he resigned his command, and left off wearing arms, as a sign that he was no longer in the king's service.

The further progress of the affair does not appear: it must have been such as to alarm Shír

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Afgan; for, the viceroy having taken occasion to visit the part of the province where he resided, and having sent to invite his attendance, he went to pay his visit with a dagger concealed in his dress. An interview begun in such a spirit might be expected to close in blood. Shír Afgan, insulted by the proposals and enraged at the threats of the viceroy, took his revenge with his dagger, and was himself immediately dispatched by the attendants.

The murder of the viceroy, which was ascribed to a treasonable conspiracy, gave a colour to all proceedings against the family of the assassin. Núr Jehán was seized, and sent as a prisoner to Delhi. Jehángír soon after offered her marriage, and applied all his address to soothe and conciliate her; but Núr Jehán was a high-spirited as well as an artful woman; and it is not improbable that she was sincere in her rejection of all overtures from one whom she looked on as the murderer of her husband. Her repugnance was so strongly displayed as to disgust Jehángír. He at length placed her among the attendants on his mother, and appeared to have entirely dismissed her from his thoughts.

His passion, however, was afterwards revived; and reflection having led his mistress to think more favourably of his offers, their marriage was celebrated with great pomp; and Núr Jehán was raised to honours such as had never before been enjoyed

CHAP. I.

Her influence.

by the consort of any king in India.* From this period her ascendancy knew no bounds: her father was made prime minister; her brother was placed in a high station; the emperor took no step without consulting her; and, on every affair in which she took an interest, her will was law. Though her sway produced bad consequences in the end, it was beneficial on the whole. Her father was a wise and upright minister; and it must have been, in part at least, owing to her influence that so great an improvement took place in the conduct of Jehángír after the first few years of his reign. He was still capricious and tyrannical, but he was no longer guilty of such barbarous cruelties as before; and although he still carried his excess in wine to the lowest stage of inebriety, yet it was at night, and in his private apartments. In the occupations which kept him all day before the eyes of his subjects he seems to have supported his character with sufficient dignity, and without any breaches of decorum. Núr Jehán's capacity was not less remarkable than her grace and beauty: it was exerted in matters proper to her sex as well as in state affairs. The magnificence of the emperor's court was increased by her taste, and the expense was diminished by her good arrangements. She contrived improvements in the furniture of apartments; introduced female dresses more becoming than any in use before her time; and it is a ques-

* Among other marks of sovereignty, her name was put on the coin along with the emperor's.

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tion in India whether it is to her or her mother that they owe the invention of ottar of roses.* One of the accomplishments by which she captivated Jehángír is said to have been her facility in composing extemporary verses.

It was not long after the time of this marriage that the disturbances in Bengal were put an end to by the defeat and death of Osmán. The satisfaction derived from this event was more than counterbalanced by the ill success of the war in the Deckan. Jehángír had determined to make up for the languor of his former operations by a combined attack from all the neighbouring provinces. Abdullah Khán, viceroy of Guzerát, was to invade Malik Amber's territory from that province at the same moment that the armies under Prince Parvíz and Khán Jehán Lódi, reinforced by Rája Mán Sing, were to advance from Cándésh and Berár. But this well-concerted plan entirely failed in the execution. Abdullah Khán advanced prematurely from Guzerát, and Malik Amber did not lose a moment in profiting by his mistake. His mode of war was much the same as that of the modern Marattas. Owing to the neighbourhood of the European ports, his artillery was superior to that of the emperor, and afforded a rallying point

A. D. 1612, A. H. 1021.

Combined attack on Ahmednagar.

Defeated by Malik Amber.

* Great improvements must have taken place in later times; for Kháfi Khán mentions that the same quantity of ottar (one tóla), which he remembers selling in the beginning of Aurangzíb's reign for eighty rupees, was to be had, when he wrote, for seven or eight.

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on which he could always collect his army; but his active means of offence were his light cavalry. He intercepted the supplies and harassed the march of the Moguls; he hovered round their army when halted; alarmed them with false attacks; and often made real incursions into different parts of the encampment, carrying off much booty, and keeping up continual disorder and trepidation. Abdullah Khán was so completely worn out by this sort of warfare, that he soon determined to retire. The consequences of a retreat before such an enemy were easy to be foreseen: all his evils multiplied upon him from the day that it commenced; his rear-guard was cut to pieces; and his march had nearly become a flight before he found refuge in the hills and jungles of Báglána, whence he proceeded without molestation into Guzerát. The other armies had by this time taken the field; but seeing Malik Amber, on his return, flushed with success over their colleague, they thought it prudent to avoid a similar calamity, and concentrated at Burhánpúr.

A. D. 1612, A. H. 1021.

War with Méwár.

Jehángír's arms were attended with better fortune in his war with the rána of Oudipúr; and his success was the more welcome, as the fruit of the abilities of his favourite son. Mohábat Khán, when first sent on that service, had gained a victory over the rána. But [illegible] unable to do anything decisive from the [illegible] of the country into which he, as usual, retreated. The same fortune attended Abdullah Khán, after [illegible]ds appointed to succeed

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Mohábat; but Prince Khurram (Sháh Jehán)*, who was now sent with an army of 20,000 men, evinced so much spirit in his attacks on the Rájpút troops, and so much perseverance in bearing up against the strength of the country and the unhealthiness of the climate, that the rána was at last induced to sue for peace; and his offer being readily accepted, he waited on Sháh Jehán in person, made offerings in token of submission, and sent his son to accompany the prince to Delhi. Sháh Jehán, on this occasion, did not forget the policy of Akber. The moment the rána's homage was paid, he raised him in his arms, seated him by his side, and treated him with every form of respect and attention. All the country conquered from him since the invasion of Akber was restored; and his son, after an honourable reception from Jehángír, was raised to a high rank among the military chiefs of the empire.

Victories and moderation of Sháh Jehán (Prince Khurram).

The rána submits on honourable terms.

A. D. 1614, A. H. 1023.

The merit of this campaign belonged exclusively to Sháh Jehán; for Azíz, who had been sent to assist him, had behaved to him with so much arrogance, that Jehángír was soon obliged to remove him, and commit him for a time to confinement.

Influence of Sháh Jehán.

This exploit raised Sháh Jehán's credit to the highest pitch; and, as he had lately married the

* The name of this prince was Khurram, and he bore no other at the commencement of his father's reign; but as he received the title of Sháh Jehán long before his own accession, it will prevent confusion to give him that name from the first.

niece of Núr Jehán, he was supported by her powerful influence, and was generally looked on as the chosen successor to the empire.

Supported by Núr Jehán.

During these events, Rája Mán Sing died in the Deckan. A rebellion of the Roushenías, which broke out in 1611, and in which the city of Cábul had been exposed to danger, was now terminated by the death of Ahdád, the grandson and spiritual successor of Báyazíd. Abdullah Khán, viceroy of Guzerát, having incurred the king's displeasure, by oppressions in the province, and by the indignity with which he treated the royal news-writer, was ordered to be seized and sent to the capital. He anticipated the order by setting off on foot, with his troops and attendants following at a great distance. He came to court barefooted and in chains, and threw himself at the king's feet; but was pardoned, and not long after restored to favour, at the intercession of Sháh Jehán.

Insurrection in Cábul quelled.

It was not long after the return of Sháh Jehán that Sir T. Roe arrived at the court, as ambassador from King James I.* His accounts enable us to judge of the state of India under Jehángír.

Embassy of Sir T. Roe.

The sea-ports and the customs were full of gross abuses, the governors seizing on goods at arbitrary prices. Even Roe, though otherwise treated with hospitality and respect, had his baggage searched

His account of the empire, court, and character of Jehángír.

* He arrived at Ajmír on December 23. 1615, accompanied the king to Mándu and Guzerát, and left him in the end of 1618.

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and some articles taken by the governor.* His journey from Surat, by Burhánpúr and Chitór, to Ajmír, lay through the Deckan, where war was raging, and the rána's country, where it had just ceased; yet he met with no obstruction or alarm, except from mountaineers, who then, as now, rendered the roads unsafe in times of trouble.

The Deckan bore strong marks of devastation and neglect. Burhánpúr, which had before, as it has since, been a fine city, contained only four or five good houses amidst a collection of mud huts; and the court of Parvíz, held in that town, had no pretensions to splendour.

In other places he was struck with the decay and desertion of some towns, contrasted with the prosperity of others. The former were, in some instances at least, deserted capitals†; and their decline affords no argument against the general prosperity.

The administration of the country had rapidly

* It must, however, be observed, that this governor, Zúlfikár Khán, was very inimical to the English, and had lately concluded an agreement with the Portuguese, by which he engaged to exclude English vessels from his ports. The agreement was not ratified by the emperor; and Zúlfikár was constrained, by his duty to his own government, to maintain outward appearances towards a foreign ambassador. (Orme, vol. iii. p. 361, &c.)

† Such were Mándu and Tódah, of both of which he speaks in the highest terms of admiration. Mándu, the former capital of Málwa, is still generally known; but Tódah (the capital of a Rájpút prince in the province of Ajmír) enjoys no such celebrity.

declined since Akber's time. The governments were farmed, and the governors exacters and tyrannical. CHAP. I.

Though a judicious and sober writer, Roe is profuse in his praise of the magnificence of the court; and he speaks in high terms of the courtesy of the nobility, and of the order and elegance of the entertainments they gave to him. His reception, indeed, was in all respects most hospitable, though the very moderate scale of his presents and retinue was not likely to conciliate a welcome where state was so generally maintained. He was excused all humiliating ceremonials, was allowed to take the highest place in the court on public occasions, and was continually admitted into familiar intercourse with the emperor himself.

The scenes he witnessed at his private interviews form a curious contrast to the grandeur with which the Mogul was surrounded. He sat on a low throne all covered with diamonds, pearls, and rubies; and had a great display of gold plate, vases, and goblets, set with jewels. The party was free from all restraint, scarcely one of them remaining sober except Sir Thomas and a few other grave personages, who were cautious in their indulgence. Jehángír himself never left off till he dropped asleep, when the lights were extinguished and the company withdrew. On these occasions he was overflowing with kindness, which increased with the effects of the wine; and once, after talking with great liberality of all religions, "he fell to

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weeping, and to various passions, which kept them to midnight."

But he did not retain these sociable feelings in the morning. On one occasion, when a courtier indiscreetly alluded in public to a debauch of the night before, Jehángír affected surprise, inquired what other persons had shared in this breach of the law, and ordered those named to be so severely bastinadoed that one of them died. He always observed great strictness in public, and never admitted a person into his presence who, from his breath or otherwise, gave any signs of having been drinking wine. His reserve, however, was of little use: like great men at present, he was surrounded by newswriters; and his most secret proceedings, and even the most minute actions of his life, were known to every man in the capital within a few hours after they took place.

Notwithstanding the case above mentioned, and some other instances of inhumanity, Roe seems to consider Jehángír as neither wanting in good feelings nor good sense; although his claim to the latter quality is impaired by some weaknesses which Sir Thomas himself relates. In one case he seized on a convoy coming to the ambassador from Surat, and consisting of presents intended for himself and his court, together with the property of some merchants who took advantage of the escort: he rummaged the packages himself with childish curiosity; and had recourse to the meanest apologies to appease

and cajole Roe, who was much provoked at this disregard of common honesty.

Though Roe speaks highly in some respects of particular great men, he represents the class as unprincipled, and all open to corruption. The treaty he had to negotiate hung on for upwards of two years, until he bribed Asof Kháu with a valuable pearl; after which all went on well and smoothly. Both Roe and other contemporary travellers represent the military spirit as already much declined, and speak of the Rájpúts and Patáns as the only brave soldiers to be found.*

The manual arts were in a high state, and were not confined to those peculiar to the country. One of Sir T. Roe's presents was a coach, and within a very short period several others were constructed, very superior in materials and fully equal in workmanship. Sir Thomas also gave a picture to the Mogul, and was soon after presented with several copies, among which he had great difficulty in distinguishing the original.† There was a great influx of Europeans, and considerable encouragement to their religion. Jehángír had figures of Christ and the Virgin at the head of his rosary; and two of his nephews embraced Christianity, with his full approbation.‡

* Roe. Terry. Hawkins.

† Among the articles he recommends for presents, are historical paintings, night pieces, and landscapes: "but good, for they understand them as well as we."

‡ Roe. Hawkins. Terry. Coryat.

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The language of the court was Persian, but all classes spoke Hindostáni; and Hawkins, who only knew Turkish, found the emperor himself and the Kháni Khánán well versed in that tongue.

Prince Khusru.

No subject seems to have excited more interest, both in the ambassador and the court, than the fate of Prince Khusru. All his bad qualities were forgotten in his misfortunes; he was supposed to be endowed with every virtue; the greatest joy prevailed when any sign appeared of his restoration to favour, and corresponding indignation when he fell into the power of his enemies. Even the king was supposed to be attached to him, though wrought on by the influence of Sháh Jehán and the arts of Asof Khán and Núr Jehán.* Khusru's exclusion was not the more popular for its being in favour of Sháh Jehán; who, according to Sir T. Roe, was "flattered by some, envied by others, loved by none." Roe himself represents him as a bigot and a tyrant; but as his conduct shows nothing but ability and correctness, it is probable that he owed his unpopularity to his cold and haughty manners; the ambassador himself remarking, that he never saw so settled a countenance, or any man keep so constant a gravity, never smiling,

Unpopularity of Sháh Jehán.

* Sir T. Roe once met Khusru, while moving in loose custody, along with the army. He stopped under the shade of a tree during the heat, and sent for Sir Thomas, who was near. His person was comely, his countenance cheerful, and his beard was grown down to his girdle. He knew nothing of what was passing, and had not heard either of the English or their ambassador.

nor by his looks showing any respect or distinction of persons, but entire pride and contempt for all. Yet the prince could not at that time have been older than twenty-five.

Prince Parvíz.

Sháh Jehán might have expected to find a formidable rival in Parvíz, his elder brother; but that prince, though sometimes an object of jealousy to him, could offer no really formidable opposition to the superior abilities of Sháh Jehán, supported by the influence of the empress.

Sháh Jehán declared heir apparent.

A final blow was given to any hopes that Parvíz may have entertained, by the elevation of his brother to the title of king *, on his undertaking a great expedition against the Deckan. He was invested with ample powers on this occasion; and Jehángír himself moved to Mándu, to be at hand to support him in case of need.

Sent to settle the Deckan.

The emperor moves to Mándu, A. D. 1616, October; A. H. 1025, Zi Káda.

Roe accompanied the emperor on this march; and his account of the movement of the army forms a striking contrast to the good order and discipline he had hitherto admired. The court and camp, while halted, were as regular as ever; but the demand for carriage cattle created a general scramble and confusion. The Persian ambassador and Roe were left for some days at Ajmír, from the want of conveyance for their baggage; and the tents of the soldiers and followers were set fire to, to compel them to proceed, though ill provided. When actually in motion, the same want of ar-

Sir T. Roe's description of his march.

* From this time some writers call him Sháh Khusru, and others, Sháh Jehán.

…ment was felt: sometimes there was a de… of water; and sometimes, in long and … marches through woods and mountains, the … was scattered with coaches, carts, and camels, … to proceed to the stage.*

Complete success of Sháh Jehán.

The state of affairs in the Deckan was very favourable to Sháh Jehán. The ascendancy of a private person, like Malik Amber, led to jealousy among his confederates, and even his own officers. In consequence of these dissensions, he had suffered a defeat, which produced still further discouragement among the allies; so that when Sháh Jehán entered the Deckan, he found little difficulty in detaching the king of Bíjapúr from the confederacy; and Amber, seeing himself entirely deserted, was likewise compelled to make submission on the part of his nominal sovereign, Nizám Sháh; and to restore the fort of Ahmednagar and all the other territory which he had re-conquered from the Moguls.

A. D. 1617, March; A. H. 1026, Rabí ul awál.

After this glorious termination of the war, Sháh Jehán returned to Mándu, and joined his father, within a twelvemonth of the time when they had marched from Ajmír.

A. D. 1617, September; A. H. 1026, Shawál.

Residence of the emperor and Sháh Jehán in Guzerát.

Jehángír took this occasion to visit the province of Guzerát; he remained there for near a year, and added the viceroyalty of that province to the governments previously held by Sháh Jehán.

* "In following the Mogul's court," says Roe, "I encountered all the inconveniences that men are subject to under an ill government and an intemperate climate."

A. H. 1027, Rámzán.

He quitted Guzerát in September 1618; and the next two years are marked by no events, except an insurrection in the Panjáb; the capture of the fort of Kángra or Nagarcót, under the mountains; and a journey of the emperor to Cashmír.

Renewal of the disturbances in the Deckan. A. D. 1621, A. H. 1030.

While in that valley, he received intelligence of a renewal of the war in the Deckan. It seems to have been begun, without provocation, by Malik Amber, who probably was tempted by some negligence on the other side, for he had little difficulty in taking possession of the open country, and driving the Mogul commanders into Burhánpúr, from whence they sent most earnest entreaties for help from Jehángír. Sháh Jehán was again ordered to march with a powerful army; and great treasures were collected to supply him after he reached the frontier. From some rising distrust in his mind, he refused to march, unless his brother, prince Khusru, were made over to his custody, and allowed to go with him to the Deckan. Being gratified in this respect, he entered on the service with his usual ability. Before he reached Málwa, a detachment of Malik Amber's had crossed the Nerbadda, and burned the suburbs of Mándu; but they were driven back as the prince advanced; and he, in turn, crossed the Nerbadda, and began offensive operations. Malik Amber had recourse to his usual mode of war, cut off supplies and detachments, hung upon the line of march, and attempted, by long and rapid marches, to surprise the camp. He found Sháh Jehán always on his

Sháh Jehán marches to quell them.

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guard; was at last compelled to risk the fate of the campaign in a general action, and was defeated with considerable loss.

His success in the field.

But although Sháh Jehán had a clear superiority in the field, he still found a serious obstruction in the exhausted state of the country. It was therefore with great satisfaction that he received overtures from Amber, offering a further cession, and agreeing to pay a sum of money.

He comes to terms with Malik Amber.

Not long after this success, Jehángír was seized with a violent attack of asthma, a complaint from which he suffered severely during the rest of his life. He was for some time in such imminent danger, as to lead to expectations of an immediate vacancy of the throne.

Dangerous illness of the emperor.

Parvíz hastened to court, but was sent back to his government with a reprimand; and though Sháh Jehán had not time to take such a step before he heard of his father's recovery, yet the sudden death of Prince Khusru, which happened at this juncture, was so opportune, that it brought the strongest suspicions of violence against the rival to whose custody he had been intrusted. We ought not, however, too readily to believe that a life not sullied by any other crime could be stained by one of so deep a dye.

Measures of Parvíz and Sháh Jehán.

A. D. 1621, about Sept.; A. H. 1030.

Suspicious death of Khusru.

This event, which seemed to complete the security of Sháh Jehán's succession, was, in reality, the cause of a series of dangers and disasters that nearly ended in his ruin. Up to this period, his own influence had been strengthened by the all-

Alienation of the empress from Sháh Jehán.

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powerful support of Núr Jehán; but, about the time of his departure for the Deckan, that princess had affianced her daughter by Shír Afgan to Prince Shehriár, the youngest son of Jehángír*; a connection of itself sufficient to undermine her exclusive attachment to the party of her more distant relative. But her views were further changed by a consideration of the impossibility of her gaining an ascendancy, such as she now possessed, over an active and intelligent prince like Sháh Jehán. During her father's lifetime, she had been kept within bounds of moderation by his prudent councils: after his death, which happened about this time, she exercised her dominion over the emperor without the least control; her brother, Asof Khán (to whose daughter Sháh Jehán was married) being a mere instrument of her will. Unwilling to relinquish such unlimited power, she determined by all means to oppose the succession of Sháh Jehán; and, warned by the death of Khusru, and the danger of Jehángír, she saw that she had not a moment to lose in cutting off the resources which might at any time enable the prince to overcome her opposition.

Candahár taken by the Persians. A. D. 1621, A. H. 1031.

An opportunity was not long wanting of pursuing this design. Candahár having been taken by the Persians, it was pointed out as an enterprise worthy of the conqueror of the Deckan, to recover that ancient possession. Sháh Jehán at first gave

Sháh Jehán ordered to retake it.

* Kháfi Khán.

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in to the project, and advanced as far as Mándu, on his way to the north; but, perceiving, before long, that the object was to remove him from the country where his influence was established, and engage him in a remote and difficult command, he put off his further march, on pretext of the season and the state of his troops, and began to stipulate for some securities to be given to him before he should venture to move out of India. These demands were represented to Jehángír as arising from a project of independence; and Sháh Jehán was directed, in reply, to send the greater part of his army to the capital, in order that it might accompany Shehriár, to whom the recovery of Candahár was to be committed. Orders were also sent direct to the principal officers, to leave Sháh Jehán's camp and repair to that of Shehriár. This drew a remonstrance from Sháh Jehán, who now desired to be allowed to wait on his father, while the other as peremptorily ordered him to return to the Deckan. The jágírs which Sháh Jehán held in Hindostan were transferred to Shehriár during these discussions; and Sháh Jehán, who had not been consulted in the arrangement, was desired to select an equivalent in the Deckan and Guzerát. As things drew towards a crisis, Núr Jehán, distrusting both the military talents of her brother and his zeal in her present cause, cast her eyes on Mohábat Khán, the most rising general of the time, but hitherto the particular enemy of Asof Khán. He was accordingly summoned to court from his govern-

His reluctance to leave India.

The enterprise committed to Prince Shehriár;

To whom most of Sháh Jehán's troops are transferred.

Mohábat Khán called to court by the empress.

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ment of Cábul, and was treated with every mark of favour and confidence.

A. D. 1622, about Oct.; A. H. 1031.

Jehángír, who had been again in Cashmír, returned on the commencement of these discussions, and fixed his court at Lahór, to be at hand in case his presence should be required.

Increased distrust between the emperor and Sháh Jehán.

In the mean time messages passed between Sháh Jehán and the emperor, but with so little effect in producing a reconciliation, that Jehángír put several persons to death on suspicion of a plot with his son; and Sháh Jehán, finding that his fate was sealed, marched from Mándu with his army towards Agra. Jehángír, on this, marched from Lahór, and, passing through the capital, arrived within twenty miles of the rebel army lying at Belóchpúr, forty miles south of Delhi. Sháh Jehán retired into the neighbouring hills of Mewát, and disposed his troops so as to shut the passes against a force which the emperor detached in quest of him. A partial and indecisive action took place, and is said to have been followed by negotiations. The result was, that Sháh Jehán determined to retire, and set out on his march for Mándu.

Rebellion of Sháh Jehán.

Advance of the emperor.

A. D. 1623, February; A. H. 1032.

Retreat of Sháh Jehán.

It does not appear what induced him to adopt this step: it was attended with all the consequences usual with attempts to recede in civil wars. Jehángír advanced in person to Ajmír, and sent on a strong force, under Prince Parvíz and Mohábat Khán, to follow up the retiring rebels. Rustam Khán, whom Sháh Jehán had left to defend the hills on the Chambal, deserted to the enemy; the

Its consequences.

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province of Guzerát expelled his governor, and he was himself compelled, by the advance of the imperial army, to cross the Nerbadda and retire to Burhánpúr. Nor was he long permitted to remain there in tranquillity; for Mohábat Khán, having blinded him by some delusive negotiations, crossed the Nerbadda, and was joined by the Kháni Khánán, who till this time had been attached to Sháh Jehán. The rains were at their height when Sháh Jehán commenced his retreat into Télingána, and a great part of his forces had deserted him before he directed his course to Masulipatam, with the intention of making his way to Bengal. He accomplished this long and arduous march by the early part of the succeeding year, and met with no opposition in Bengal, until he reached Ráj Mahal, where the governor of the province engaged him, and was defeated in a pitched battle. By this victory Sháh Jehán obtained possession of Bengal, and was enabled to seize on Behár, and to send on a detachment under Bhím Sing, the brother of the rána of Oudipúr, to endeavour to secure the fort of Allahábád.

Sháh Jehán retreats into Télingána.

Makes his way to Bengal.

A. D. 1624, A. H. 1033.

Obtains possession of Bengal and Behár.

In the mean time prince Parvíz and Mohábat Khán, after chasing Sháh Jehán from the Deckan, had cantoned for the rainy season at Burhánpúr. On hearing of his arrival and rapid progress in Bengal, they put themselves in motion in the direction of Allahábád. Sháh Jehán crossed the Ganges to meet them; but the people of the country, who were not inclined to enter on oppo-

He is pursued by Prince Parvíz and Mohábat Khán.

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sition to the emperor, refused to bring in supplies to his camp, or to assist in keeping up his communications by means of the boats on the Ganges. The discouragement and privations which were the consequence of this state of things led to the desertion of the new levies which Sháh Jehán had raised in Bengal; and when, at last, he came to an action with his opponents, he was easily overpowered, his army dispersed, and himself constrained once more to seek for refuge in the Deckan. Affairs in that quarter were favourable to his views. During his first flight to the Deckan the king of Bíjapúr and Malik Amber had both remained steady to their engagement with Jehángír; and the king of Golcónda had shown no disposition to assist him during his retreat through Télingána. Since that time the Moguls had taken part on the side of the king of Bíjapúr in a dispute between him and Malik Amber; and the latter chief retaliated by invading the Mogul dominions, and carrying his ravages to the neighbourhood of Burhánpúr. He was therefore prepared to receive Sháh Jehán with open arms; and wrote to press him to undertake the siege of Burhánpúr. Sháh Jehán complied, and commenced his operations. The place made an obstinate defence; and, in the end, the return of Parvíz and Mohábat to the Nerbadda obliged him to raise the siege and attend to his own safety. His adherents now deserted him in greater numbers than before; and, being dispirited by ill health as well as adverse fortune,

Is defeated, and flies to the Deckan.

State of the Deckan.

Sháh Jehán unites with Malik Amber.

Pressed by Parvíz and Mohábat Khán.

Deserted by his army.

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he wrote to beg his father's forgiveness, and to express his readiness to submit to his commands. Jehángír directed him to give up the forts of Rótás in Behár, and Asírghar in the Deckan, both of which were still in his possession, and to send two of his sons, Dárá Shekó and Aurangzíb, to court, as hostages for his good behaviour. These demands were complied with; but we are prevented judging of the treatment designed for Sháh Jehán by an event which, for a time, threw the whole empire into confusion.

Offers his submission to the emperor. A. D. 1625. A. H. 1034.

After the first retreat of Sháh Jehán to the Deckan, Jehángir returned from Ajmír to Delhi; and believing all serious danger to his government to be at an end, he went on his usual expedition to Cashmír, and repeated it in the following year. On the third year he was induced, by a new revolt of the Roushenías, to change his destination for Cábul; and although he soon heard of the suppression of the rebellion, and received the head of Ahmed, the son of Ahdád, who was the leader of it, he made no change in his determination.

The emperor marches against the Roushenías in Cábul.

But he was not destined to accomplish this journey in tranquillity; for no sooner was Sháh Jehán reduced to submission than the domineering spirit of Núr Jehán proceeded to raise up new enemies. Mohábat Khán was the son of Ghór Bég, a native of Cábul.* He had attained the rank of a commander of 500 under Akber, and

Persecution of Mohábat Khán by the empress.

His history.

* Memoirs of Jehángír, p. 30.

was raised to the highest dignities and employments by Jehángír. He had long enjoyed a high place in the opinion of the people*, and might now be considered as the most eminent of all the emperor's subjects. This circumstance alone might have been sufficient to excite the jealousy of Núr Jehán. It is probable, however, that she also distrusted Mohábat for his old enmity to her brother, and his recent connection with Parvíz.

He is summoned to court.

Whatever might be the motive, he was now summoned to court to answer charges of oppression and embezzlement during the time of his occupation of Bengal. He at first made excuses for not attending, and was supported by Parvíz; but, finding that his appearance was insisted on, he set out on his journey, accompanied by a body of 5000 Rájpúts whom he had contrived to attach to his service.

Brutal treatment of his son-in-law by the emperor.

Before his arrival, he betrothed his daughter to a young nobleman named Berkhordár, without first asking the emperor's leave, as was usual with persons of his high rank. Jehángír was enraged at this apparent defiance: he sent for Berkhordár, and, in one of those fits of brutality which still broke out, he ordered him to be stripped naked and beaten with thorns in his own presence; and then seized on the dowry he had received from Mohábat, and sequestrated all his other property.

* Sir T. Roe, in A. D. 1616, says of him, that he is a noble and generous man, well beloved by all men, and the king's only favourite, but cares not for the prince (Sháh Jehán).

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When Mohábat himself approached the camp, he was informed that he would not be admitted to the emperor's presence; and, perceiving that his ruin was predetermined, he resolved not to wait till he should be separated from his troops, but to strike a blow, the very audacity of which should go far to insure its success.

Mohábat seizes on the emperor's person. A. D. 1626, March; A. H. 1035, Jemádi 2.

Jehángír was at this time encamped on the Hydaspes; and was preparing to cross it, by a bridge of boats, on his way to Cábul. He sent the army across the river in the first instance, intending to follow at his leisure when the crowd and confusion should be over. The whole of the troops had passed, and the emperor remained with his personal guards and attendants, when Mohábat, getting his men under arms a little before day-break, sent a detachment of 2000 men to seize the bridge, and moved, himself, with all speed, to the spot where the emperor was encamped. The place was quickly surrounded by his troops; while he himself, at the head of a chosen body of 200 men, pushed straight for the emperor's tent. The attendants were overthrown and dispersed before they were aware of the nature of the attack; and Jehángír, who was not quite recovered from the effects of his last night's debauch, was awakened by the rush of armed men around his bed: he started up, seized his sword, and, after staring wildly round, he perceived what had befallen him, and exclaimed, "Ah! Mohábat Khán! traitor! what is this?" *Mohábat Khán* replied by prostrating himself on

the ground, and lamenting that the persecution of his enemies had forced him to have recourse to violence to obtain access to his master. Jehángír at first could scarcely restrain his indignation; but, observing, amidst all Mohábat's humility, that he was not disposed to be trifled with, he gradually accommodated himself to his circumstances, and endeavoured to conciliate his captor. Mohábat now suggested to him that, as it was near his usual time of mounting, it was desirable that he should show himself in public to remove alarm, and check the misrepresentations of the ill disposed. Jehángír assented, and endeavoured to withdraw, on pretence of dressing, to his female apartments, where he hoped to have an opportunity of consulting with Núr Jehán: being prevented from executing this design, he prepared himself where he was, and at first mounted a horse of his own in the midst of the Rájpúts, who received him with respectful obeisances; but Mohábat, reflecting that he would be in safer custody, as well as more conspicuous, on an elephant whose driver could be depended on, urged him to adopt that mode of conveyance, and placed him on one of those animals with two armed Rájpúts by his side. At this moment, the chief elephant driver, attempting to force his way through the Rájpúts, and to seat the emperor on an elephant of his own, was dispatched on a sign from Mohábat. One of Jehángír's personal attendants who reached the elephant, not without a wound, was allowed to mount with his master, and

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the same permission was given to the servant who was intrusted with the bottle and goblet, so essential to Jehángír's existence.

These examples of the consequences of resistance had their full effect on the emperor; and he proceeded very tractably to the tents of Mohábat Khán.

Spirited conduct of Núr Jehán.

Meanwhile, Núr Jehán, though dismayed at this unexpected calamity, did not lose her presence of mind. When she found all access cut off to the emperor, she immediately put on a disguise, and set out for the bridge in a litter of the most ordinary description. As the guards were ordered to let every one pass, but permit no one to return, she crossed the river without obstruction, and was soon safe in the midst of the royal camp. She immediately sent for her brother and the principal chiefs, and bitterly reproached them with their cowardice and neglect, in allowing their sovereign to be made a prisoner before their eyes. She did not confine herself to invectives, but made immediate preparations to rescue her husband by force; and although Jehángír, probably in real apprehension of what might happen to himself in the confusion, sent a messenger with his signet to entreat that no attack might be made, she treated the message as a trick of Mohábat's, and only suspended her proceedings until she could ascertain the real position of the enemy's camp, and the part of it inhabited by the emperor. During the night, a nobleman named Fedái Khán made an attempt to

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carry off Jehángír by swimming the river at the head of a small body of horse: his approach was discovered, and it was with difficulty he effected his escape, after losing several of his companions killed and drowned in the river.

She attacks Mohábat's camp.

Next morning, the whole army moved down to the attack. It was headed by Núr Jehán herself, who appeared on the howdah of a high elephant, with a bow and two quivers of arrows. The bridge had been burned by the Rájpúts, and the army began to cross by a ford which they had discovered lower down the river. It was a narrow shoal, between deep water, and full of dangerous pools; so that the passage was not effected without the utmost disorder; many were obliged to swim, and all landed with their powder wetted, weighed down with their drenched clothes and armour, and obliged to engage hand to hand before they could make good their footing on the beach. Núr Jehán was among the foremost, on her elephant, with her brother and some of the principal chiefs around her: she with difficulty effected a landing, but found it impossible to make any impression on the enemy. The Rájpúts had the advantage of the ground; they poured down showers of balls, arrows, and rockets on the troops in the ford; and, rushing down on those who were landing, drove them back into the water sword in hand.

A scene of universal tumult and confusion ensued: the ford was choked with horses and elephants; some fell and were trampled under foot;

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others sunk in the pools, and were unable to regain the shoal; and numbers plunged into the river, and ran the chance of making good their passage, or being swept away by the stream. The most furious assault was directed on Núr Jehán: her elephant was surrounded by a crowd of Rájpúts; her guards were overpowered and cut down at its feet; balls and arrows fell thick round her howdah; and one of the latter wounded the infant daughter of Shehriár, who was seated in her lap. At length her driver was killed; and her elephant, having received a cut on the proboscis, dashed into the river, and soon sunk in deep water, and was carried down by the stream: after several plunges, he swam out and reached the shore, when Núr Jehán was surrounded by her women, who came shrieking and lamenting, and found her howdah stained with blood, and herself busied in extracting the arrow, and binding up the wound of the infant. Fedái Khan had made another attempt, during the confusion of the battle, to enter the enemy's camp at an unsuspected point, and had penetrated so far that his balls and arrows fell within the tent where Jehángír was seated; but the general repulse forced him also to retire. He effected his retreat, wounded, and with the loss of many of his men, and immediately retired to the neighbouring fort of Rohtás, of which he was the governor.

Is repulsed with heavy loss.

Núr Jehán now saw that there was no hope of rescuing her husband by force; and she determined to join him in his captivity, and trust to

She joins the emperor in his confinement.

fortune and her own arts for effecting his deliverance. CHAP. I.

Mohábat Khán, after his success at the Hydaspes, advanced to Attok, where Asof Khán had retired. His authority was now so well established that it was recognised by most of the army; and Asof Khán, and such leaders as attempted to hold out, were obliged in the end to give themselves up as prisoners. But the security and even the extent of Mohábat's power was far from being so great as it appeared: his haughty and violent behaviour to those who had been opposed to him took deep root in their breasts. The ascendancy of the Rájpúts was offensive to the other troops; and, as the provinces were still faithful to the emperor, and two of his sons at large, Mohábat was obliged to use great management in his treatment of his prisoner, and to effect his objects by persuasion ráther than by force or fear. Jehángír, tutored by Núr Jehán, took full advantage of the circumstances in which he was placed: he affected to enter into Mohábat's views with his usual facility; expressed himself pleased to be delivered from the thraldom in which he had been kept by Asof Khán; and even carried his duplicity so far as to warn Mohábat that he must not think Núr Jehán was as well disposed to him as he was himself; and to put him on his guard against little plots that were occasionally formed for thwarting his measures. Mohábat was completely blinded by these artifices; and thinking himself sure of

Insecurity of Mohábat's power.

Artifices of the emperor.

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the emperor, he gave less heed to the designs of others.

During these proceedings the army advanced to Cábul; the neighbourhood of the Afgháns made it necessary to increase the king's guard, and Núr Jehán seized the opportunity of getting persons in her interest to offer their services in such a way as to avoid suspicion. Jehángír was allowed, at this time, to go out to shoot on an elephant; always surrounded by Rájpúts, and with one in particular, who stuck to him like his shadow, and never for a moment let him out of his sight. On one of these occasions an affray took place between the Rájpúts with the emperor and some of the ahdis, a select body of single horsemen, whose duty it was to attend on His Majesty. The largest part of the escort being composed of Rájpúts, the ahdis were overpowered and several of them killed; and on their complaining to Mohábat, he said he would be happy to punish the offence if they could bring it home to any individuals. The ahdis, incensed at this evasion, fell with their whole force on a body of Rájpúts, killed many, and drove others into the hills, where they were made slaves by the Hazárehs. Mohábat himself was exposed to so much danger in this disturbance that he was forced to take refuge in the king's tent. Next day the ringleaders were punished; but a portion of the army was left in open enmity with the Rájpúts, whose numbers were also diminished; and the Afgháns of the neighbourhood showed every disposition to

Quarrel between the Rájpúts and the king's troops.

take part with the emperor. Núr Jehán could therefore pursue her schemes with less obstruction and less fear of detection. She employed agents to enlist fit men in scattered points at a distance, whence some were to straggle into camp as if in quest of service, while the others were to remain at their positions, and await her further orders. She next made Jehángír suggest a muster of the troops of all the jágírdárs; and when she was summoned to produce her contingent, she affected to be indignant at being put on a level with an ordinary subject, and said she would take care that her muster should not turn out to her discredit. Accordingly she dressed out her old troops so as to make the smallness of their number conspicuous, entertained new levies as if to complete her contingent, and at the same time directed her recruits in the country to repair by twos and threes to the army. All this could not be done without some alarm to Mohábat Khán; but he was no longer able to crush opposition by force, and he suffered himself to be persuaded by Jehángír to avoid personal risk by forbearing to accompany him to the muster of Núr Jehán's contingent. Jehángír advanced alone to the review; and he had no sooner got to the centre of the line, than the troops closed in on him, cut off the Rájpút horse by whom he was guarded; and, being speedily joined by their confederates, rendered it impossible to make any attempt to seize his person. Mohábat Khán perceived that his power was irretrievably lost; and

Plots and preparations of Núr Jehán.

Rescue of Jehángír.

BOOK X.

immediately withdrew to a distance with his troops, and entered on negotiation to procure his pardon and assurances of safety.

Terms granted to Mohábat Khán.

Jehángír was now restored to liberty, and Núr Jehán to power. She had relinquished none of her designs during the period of her adversity; and as she was obliged to make terms with Mohábat, to procure the release of her brother, who was his prisoner, she determined to connect the pardon of one enemy with the destruction of another; and made it a condition of the emperor's reconciliation with Mohábat, that he should immediately have the use of his services against Sháh Jehán. That prince, after his own submission and the misfortune of his father, had come from the Deckan to Ajmír with only 1000 men, in the hopes that his army might increase as he advanced; but Rája Kishen Sing, his principal adherent, dying at that place, instead of an accession, he suffered the loss of half his numbers, and was obliged, as the only means of securing his personal safety, to fly across the desert to Sind. He was then in the lowest state of depression, and would have retired to Persia if he had not been prevented by ill health. From this time his fortunes began to brighten: he heard of the death of Parvíz at Burhánpúr, and learned also that Mohábat, instead of pursuing him, was now himself pursued by an army of the emperor, with whom he had again come to a rupture.

He is sent against Sháh Jehán.

He breaks with the emperor, and

Encouraged by these circumstances, he set off, through Guzerát, for the Deckan, where he was

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soon joined by Mohábat, with such part of his force as still remained.*

joins Sháh Jehán.

Jehángír, soon after his deliverance, marched back from Cábul to Láhór. Some time was spent in restoring every branch of the government to its old footing; and when all had been satisfactorily arranged the emperor set off on his annual visit to Cashmír.

Some time after his arrival in that valley, Shehríár was seized with so violent an illness that he was obliged to leave Cashmír for the warmer climate of Láhór. Not long after his departure, Jehángír was himself taken ill with a severe return of his asthma; and it soon became evident that his life was in great danger. An attempt was made to remove him to Láhór; his complaint was increased by the motion and passage of the mountains; and before he had got over a third of his journey he had a severe attack, and died soon after reaching his tent, in the sixtieth year of his age.

Sickness

and death of Jehángír. A. D. 1627, Oct. 28.; A. H. 1037, Safar 28.

Several of the great men of the time of Akber died shortly before Jehángír. Azíz died before the usurpation of Mohábat; Malik Amber, during its continuance; and Mírza Khán (the Kháni Khánán), shortly after it was suppressed.

* Gladwin's Jehángír. Kháfi Khán makes an intermediate reconciliation between Mohábat and Jehángír, and another visit of the former to court, followed by a fresh revolt: but these rapid changes appear inexplicable; and it is not easy to believe that if Mohábat had been in Núr Jehán's hands, having no longer her brother for a hostage, he would again have been allowed to retire in safety.

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Among the occurrences of Jehángír's reign may be mentioned an edict against the use of tobacco, which was then a novelty. It would be curious, as marking the epoch of the introduction of a practice now universal in Asia, if the name of tambácu, by which it is known in most eastern countries, were not of itself sufficient to show its American origin.*

* Where no other authority is quoted for facts in this reign, they are taken from Kháfi Khán, from Gladwin's "Reign of Jehángír," or from the autobiographical Memoirs of the emperor. Kháfi Khán's history is compiled from various accounts written and oral. Mr. Gladwin's is evidently all drawn from written histories, but he only quotes the "Maásiri Jehángíri," and the Memoirs of the emperor, of which last he possessed a much more complete copy than that translated by Major Price. The Memoirs themselves contain a great deal of information regarding particular periods and the characters of individuals; and though written in a rambling and inaccurate manner, are not without signs of talent. A large portion of them is composed of stories of magical performances; some, though greatly exaggerated, are obviously tricks of ventriloquism and legerdemain, but all regarded by the emperor as in some degree the result of supernatural power. Those fables would lead to a lower estimate of his intelligence, if we did not remember the demonology of his contemporary in England.

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